DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 314 820	EA 021 304

AUTHOR	Lewis, Anne
TITLE	Restructuring America's Schools.
INSTITUTION	American Association of School Administrators, Arlington, Va.
REPORT NO	ISBN-87652-145-6
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	250p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publication Sales, American Association of School Administrators, 1801 N. Moore Street, Arlington, VA 22209-9900 (Stock No. 021-00269; $15.95 plus $3.50 postage and handling).
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Attitudes; Change Strategies; *Curriculum Design; *Educational Change; Educational Development; Educational Finance; Educational Improvement; Educational Needs; Elementary Secondary Education; *Federal State Relationship; High Risk Students; Instructional Design; *School Based Management; *School Restructuring; Teacher Certification

ABSTRACT

In 11 chapters, this book objectively looks at school restructuring on the basis of prominent reports on education; materials submitted by local schools and school systems; results from the AASA (American Association of School Administrators) survey; and interviews with local school leaders, prominent reformers, as well as several state and national organization representatives. Chapter 1 defines "restructuring." Chapter 2 examines restructuring within the context of current educational reform literature. Chapter 3 furnishes the philosophical bases of restructuring. Chapter 4 articulates teachers' views toward restructuring. Chapter 5 discusses the role of the business community in the effort to restructure U.S. public education. Chapter 6 describes the role of university involvement in school restructuring. State policies regarding major educational reforms--the subject of Chapter 7--have experienced a restructuring of their own, as they have evolved from proscriptive measures to those that enable school-site change. A discussion of the complexities and impact of school restructuring on school districts is the focus of chapter 8. Chapter 9 centers on the decisionmaking process in the restructuring effort. Chapters 10 and 11 discuss coping with change once restructuring takes place; suggest that the changed work environment requires new ways and means for leaders, supervisors, teaching staff, and students to perform effectively in new surroundings; and offer change strategies to assist school personnel to adapt to restructuring efforts. (JAM)

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RESTRUCTURING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

ANNE LEWIS

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 89-085384
ISBN Number: 87652-145-6
AASA Stock Number: 021-00269

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RESTRUCTURING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

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PREFACE

Restructuring! It has become a catchword of the decade. Many people favor it. Some are opposed. Others are merely cautious. However, few actually can describe what it means, especially for schools.

Perhaps restructuring can best be described as renewal. Unless people and organizations arm themselves with new knowledge and new approaches, they stand the chance of being out of touch. Therefore, the heated conversations about restructuring schools have been enlightening and useful.

In this book, ***Restructuring America's Schools,*** the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) takes a hard, objective look at what this phenomenon means to different people and the organizations they serve. We have asked local school leaders, prominent reformers, as well as several state and national organization representatives to share their opinions and their experiences.

For more than a year, noted education writer Anne C. Lewis has collected and pored over the results of a special AASA survey on restructuring, prominent reports on education, and materials submitted by local schools and school systems. She has interviewed countless people with a variety of opinions on restructuring. This book is a result of those efforts. Obviously, restructuring is a fast-moving issue. Therefore, ***Restructuring America's Schools*** could not cover every issue or nuance. However, it does provide a focused snapshot of this phenomenon as we approach the turn of the century.

What have we learned?

- First, restructuring means different things to different people.
- Second, restructuring might include: changes in the curriculum (what we teach); modifications in the way we organize for instruction; variations in federal-state-local relationships; increased participation in decision-making; "school-based management"; reform in the systems for preparing, certifying, and compensating educators; taking a hard look at the governance or financing structures; dealing more effectively with at-risk students; or simply fostering changes in the way people think.
- Third, a great deal of restructuring already is taking place. Some of it has been going on naturally for many years. While it has lacked the dramatics of far-reaching national reports, it is simply part of the way many educational leaders do business.

- Fourth, some organizations and their people are operating very well and getting outstanding results. If those organizations were to make massive changes, they would want to be sure they were actually improving and not undermining what already works.
- Fifth, some organizations desperately need to restructure. Undue political influences, unworkable financial conditions, lack of community support, entrenched bureaucratic thinking, restrictive laws or policies, and perennial lack of student success may signal a need for change. In some cases, school board policies and state government regulations will have to be eased to make those changes possible.
- Sixth, the primary focus of any reforms, including variations in restructuring, must result in better education for students. Otherwise, they aren't worth their salt. In short, the best possible "structure" results in community, parents, board members, administrators, teachers and others operating in concert, each playing a key role, to ensure student success. Ultimately, whatever we do in the schools should contribute to what happens in the classroom. Just doing something isn't enough. Our bottom line is student learning.

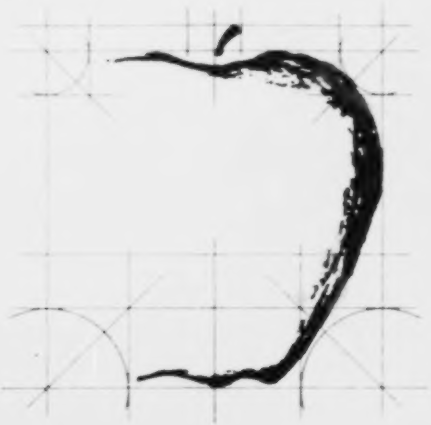
We urge local, state, and national education leaders, teachers, and concerned parents and citizens to study this important publication. Seldom, if ever, have recent school restructuring efforts and ideas been pulled together in one spot for easy reference. We hope this book will serve as more than a repository for current thinking and practice. We also hope it inspires thoughtful school leaders and the communities they serve to even greater educational heights.

Effective schools research has long indicated that excellent leadership is essential to sound education. For school administrators, that is a heavy but welcome responsibility. They know that the future rests on their leadership, their vision, their openness to ideas, their knowledge of how students learn and organizations work, their commitment to involving staff and community in the improvement process, and their ability to develop and sustain structures that truly work for the benefit of each and every person who wants and needs to learn.

Richard Miller
Executive Director
American Association of School Administrators (AASA)

Restructuring is a relatively new
descriptive of educational change,
but its major "thinkers" agree generally
on what it means--changing the dynamics of
interactions in the classroom to ensure higher
expectations of both teachers and students....

CHAPTER I



RESTRUCTURING:
PIPE DREAMS OR NEW DIRECTIONS?

> ***"RE'STRAK-CHER--to change the makeup, organization, or pattern of...."***

Like the proverbial blind men trying to describe an elephant, educators who feel around for a definition of the latest stage in the reform of schools--restructuring--see the situation differently.

A few believe restructuring is a bricks-and-mortar issue, having more to do with the physical reorganization of school districts than anything else. Many see it as not much more than a continuation of state-imposed reforms that began in the early 1980s, consisting mostly of curriculum and time-use requirements.

Some view restructuring as a threat to traditional authority structures in schools; some welcome it because it would change that pattern.

Those favoring restructuring are "dreamers," in the opinion of at least one experienced school administrator from Iowa: "This process will just have people run around in circles for the next 20 years." On the other hand, a high school principal in Newark, New York, believes "this is a wonderful opportunity to redefine our purpose, school by school, community by community."

Some administrators have decided that restructuring is meant for others, but not for their schools. "Let's fire a rifle at the problem schools and help them as needed. Let's concentrate on the specific needs, not broad-based restructuring," says one Pennsylvania superintendent. Another superintendent, from Illinois, says that from his experience, he has found that "restructuring happens all the time. Maybe we need 'undercover agents' to find those which not only are stagnant but waste tax dollars on a regular basis and make things look bad for public education in general."

Then, there are those who seem to have a clear fix on what restructuring means, such as the school administrator who admonishes his colleagues: "Let's move on with it."

There are good reasons for some confusion as to what restructuring of schools is all about and what its significance will be. First, it is a new term for education. "Reform" was the in-vogue word throughout most of the 1980s, adopted as the banner for a variety of changes in schools that started among various states in the early 1980s, then became almost a universal happening after the publication of *A Nation at Risk* by a federally appointed commission in 1983. Only when analyses of these early reform efforts produced a consensus that the changes were too slow and inadequate did reformers begin to talk about more drastic measures--about restructuring.

As a separate subject, restructuring began to appear on the meeting agendas of such groups as the National Governors' Association (NGA) and the Education Commission of the States (ECS) in 1987. About the same time, advocacy groups, such as the National Coalition of Advocates for Students, adopted a broader view of education for at-risk children and youth, arguing that current school structures jeopardize the opportunities for most students and radical changes were needed for all.

A second reason for confusion is that restructuring seems to consist of disparate pieces. Individual schools, school districts, states, researchers, and reformers have proposed or implemented a number of changes under the rubric of "restructuring." Indeed, in developing a survey for this report on restructuring, from which the comments above were taken, more than 40 major ideas were found among the various restructuring plans.

However, what contributes most to ambiguities over the definition and impact of restructuring is the base from which the restructuring movement begins--that of changing attitudes.

A Common Definition

Scanning the various versions of a definition, one can interpolate that this early stage of restructuring depends on personal visions and on influencing the attitudes of all those in the educational enterprise.

While this rapid bombardment of ideas about where American education should be going may appear to lack direction, it is not formless nor without common themes. In fact, those who invited the elephant in, the nation's policymakers and many of its researchers, leaders, and practitioners, agree substantially on what it looks like. The words they use to define vast changes for public schools may not be exactly the same, but the underlying ideas are. This is what they are saying:

- Restructuring means changing the nature of schools from the interior, says Frank Newman, president of the Education Commision of the States, so that students "become active learners, partners in the learning process." The only way to do that is to empower teachers to also become involved in decisions about what they do and to develop leadership that can empower teachers and students, he says. The hardest task is not within schools, but in policymaking, Newman adds.
- "Education is what teachers do," says Harvard University researcher Eleanor Duckworth. "If policy is to affect students' experiences in schools, it must be through what teachers do, how they do it, and what it means to them." Such policy decisions, add researchers

Richard Elmore and Milbrey McLaughlin in a RAND report, *Steady Work*,[2] must initiate development rather than mandate resource allocation, structures, and rules. "It means," they say, "commissioning people who work in real schools to fashion workable solutions to real problems, and allowing those solutions the opportunity to fail and the time to succeed."

- Most school reforms, says American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, try to improve the system without changing the basic structure. They usually involve doing more of the same--a longer day or school year, better books and materials, more homework, more requirements of all kinds. But, "restructuring is different," he says. "It seeks to create new relationships for children and teachers." Explains another union leader, Adam Urbanski, head of the AFT unit at Rochester, New York, where major restructuring is taking place: "Restructuring is about the dynamics of learning. It focuses on the essentials--on collaboration and on problem solving."
- "Restructuring takes rethinking," says Ken Michaels, supervisor of the Bureau of Human Resource Development for the Miami/Dade County schools, where efforts at restructuring are underway. Tinkering with the external trappings of schooling will not result in the kinds of changes needed, he wrote in the February 1988 issue of *Educational Leadership*.[3] Taking turns lecturing to large groups of students and calling it "team teaching" is not what restructuring advocates have in mind. "The clear message of second-wave reform is that we need to examine our basic philosophical beliefs about teaching, learning, the nature of human beings, and the kinds of environments that maximize growth for teachers and students alike," he says.
- The ultimate goal of restructuring is to open up the "process of learning and teaching, of human interaction and decisionmaking," says David Florio of the National Science Foundation. This means affecting the four general categories of school structures--content, people, place, and time. "If most students are to enjoy much higher levels of learning success," he says, "schools will need flexible structures to accommodate different content goals, learning rates, interests and styles."

- After studying the experiences of pioneering districts that have attempted major restructuring, Jane David, a consultant to the Center for Policy Research in Education, concludes that such changes have a simple definition: "The goal of restructuring is long-term, comprehensive change guided by a conception of schools as stimulating workplaces and learning environments."
- Owen Butler, retired chairman of the Procter & Gamble Co. and chairperson of the Committee for Economic Development--a major influence on developing public awareness of the need for massive changes in schooling--describes the effort from a businessman's viewpoint: "We are trying to change the way we go about educating our young," he says. "We are trying to change from a system in which teachers are regarded as almost assembly-line classroom production workers to a system in which teachers are free to innovate and experiment and use creativity to improve teaching. We are trying to deregulate, to move the control of the schools from top-down to bottom-up. We are trying to provide better financing and attract better people into the profession. This requires a total change in 'corporate culture.'"
- Theodore Sizer, whose Coalition of Essential Schools is seen by many as further along than any other effort at changing the basic nature of schools, says simply that the goal of current changes, and of education in general, is to "teach students to think."

"Too many of our reformers are like Humpty Dumpty who scornfully said to Alice in *Through the Looking Glass*, 'When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean--neither more nor less.' If they insist they are 'restructuring' schools while really keeping the old order in place, American public education is due for a fall--and there may be too many pieces for anyone to put it together again."

Albert Shanker
President,
American Federation of Teachers

From these various viewpoints, the basic elements of restructuring seem apparent. Restructuring:

- Is student- and teacher-centered.
- Changes the way students learn and teachers teach, requiring both to assume greater initiative.
- Applies to all students and all schools, not just the disadvantaged.
- Affects curriculum as well as organization.
- Needs a central vision within a school to which all involved subscribe.
- Requires becoming "unstuck" from many current reforms and from a built-up centralized bureaucracy.
- Is advocated by diverse interests in society.

Restructuring, in sum, amounts to those actions that allow and encourage higher expectations of both teachers and students.

Why Change, Why Now?

Any school or school district attempting to achieve these goals of restructuring would immediately understand that "tinkering" is not sufficient. "We need to sort out our values, develop new belief systems, and ultimately create schools that educate as well as train, schools that foster learning in all the ways it can occur," says Michaels.[4]

Most school administrators would respond that Michaels' description always has been the goal of schooling. But the retort coming from the policymaking, business, and research communities is that only a fraction of students actually experience this kind of education. And, in the future, American society will need all young people to receive an excellent education that prepares them for constant changes in a global society.

Why is there such a push to replace incremental improvements with a radical, bottom-up movement? There are a number of factors and interests.

Business/Industry Demand It for Survival. Undoubtedly, one of the major influences upon education policymakers today is the persistent, collaborative voice of business leaders. Corporate giants such as Owen Butler, William Woodside of Sky Chef, Inc., and former chief executive officer of the Primerica Corporation, and David Kearns of Xerox Corporation, as well as groups such as the Committee for Economic Development, hold a consistent, strong view of how and why schools in the

United States must change. Part of their reasoning concerns the changes that the American workplace has undergone in order to stay competitive in world markets; part of it stems from the insufficient supply of workers needed to occupy those workplaces. Both are crucial problems to the American business community.

Because of the need to increase productivity and adapt to an increasingly technological work environment, the American business/industry setting looks very different from that of only a few years ago. From manufacturing to service industries such as insurance, fundamental transformations have occurred in the skills required of workers.

Sue Berryman, director of the Institute on Education and the Economy at Teachers College/Columbia University, explains what this means for schools. Because of the volatility in jobs, young people need to know how to learn--"how to organize social and technological resources to transform what is unfamiliar into the mastered."[5] Further, under mass production, employees often worked alone. Now, job responsibilities are broadened and increasingly intermeshed, implying the need for teamwork. And, as company hierarchies flatten out, "supervisory functions increasingly are delegated to the worker himself or herself or to the team, requiring the ability to self-regulate or self-direct." These changes mean that communication increases among workers, "generating the need for conflict resolution skills."

But what Berryman, business leaders and others emphasize--particularly in the restructured workplace--is the need for employees with higher-order thinking skills, even for jobs considered low-skill or menial. "When we recall how work has changed--the need to deal with uncertainty, to understand the firm's market environment, to understand the organizational context in which one's job is embedded, to anticipate, to deal with the unfamiliar and with discontinuity," says Berryman, "we see a stunning parallel between these changes in the nature and structure of work and the defining characteristics of higher-order thinking."

The challenge to public schools, in the opinion of Marc Tucker, who launched much of the restructuring debate in 1986 as author of the Carnegie Forum's *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*,[6] is to educate all students with the higher-order skills that only 10 percent received in the past, "and to do so with only a minimal increase in resources."

Another factor influencing business leadership's interest in transforming education is one of pure demographics: fewer workers will enter the labor force during the next decade than at any time since World War II. Only about 2.5 million young people were in the 1989 high school graduating class, 300,000 fewer than 10 years ago but 250,000 more than anticipated for the graduating class of 1994.

The decline in graduates began in 1974 and will not end until 1992. At the end of the century, when the mini-baby boom begins to graduate, the numbers will be far less than the peak of the baby boom graduates in the mid-1970s. The business community interprets this decrease in the number of young people both broadly (with fewer employees going from the factory floor to the board room) and competitively (with business vying with the military, professions, and education for a dwindling pool of youth). It also is concerned about the economic well-being of future consumers.

This is why the public schools' apparent lack of success with certain groups of students often at risk of failure looms as a major problem to business leaders. The only source of new growth in the labor force, at least through the year 2000, will be among women, minorities, and immigrants.

Among these three groups, much progress has been made with traditional educational goals but not enough and not fast enough. Even if graduation rates continue to improve at the same pace as in the past, the public schools, by the 1997-98 school year, are expected to lose 20 percent of enrollment before graduation day.

According to the most recent federal statistics, the dropout rate among black students, while improving, still is 24 percent nationally and much higher in the inner cities. Hispanic students, a large percentage of whom are from immigrant families, leave school before graduating at a national rate of 40 percent.

These minority young people drop into an economy less and less inclined to accept them. The greatest job growth in the next decade, according to an analysis by the Hudson Institute, will be in occupations requiring some post-secondary education. The economy, basically, has closed the door on high school dropouts seeking jobs with a future.

Take manufacturing as an example. Once a major employer of young people making a transition from an entry job to a stable, permanent one, manufacturing will experience in the next few years a substantial decrease of low-skill jobs and an increase in the number of jobs requiring more education, such as engineers and technicians.

The Military Steps Up Requirements. Or, consider the changes in military recruitment. The armed forces once served as the "employer of last resort" for those young people who dropped out of school before graduation. Not only is the U.S. Army now almost exclusively recruiting only high school graduates, but it also gives the General Education Development diploma (GED) even less status than previously as a credential in recruitment. Experience has shown, say military recruitment researchers, that holders of GEDs have less staying power than regular high school graduates. Further, education attainment becomes more important to the armed services as its equipment becomes more technologically based.

Women Still Held Back. With women, the educational problem may be as much one of underachievement as the high dropout rates among minority groups. Even though women now constitute a majority of college enrollments, traditional attitudes often hold back the contributions they could make. For example, among the highest scorers on the math portion of the SAT in recent years who were female, less than one-half chose career paths in college in which they would substantially capitalize on their math skills (science, engineering, and math).

A Way To Avoid Social Disaster. If better education is the key to economic opportunities for young people, those pushing for restructuring of schools say, then those who administer and teach in schools have a special responsibility to help America avoid becoming a two-tiered society, separated by education level. Such a situation would be unprecedented in the nation's history, and highly destructive. The impact of a high-tech society, where education is the difference between making it and losing ground, is fully evident in the indicators of what is happening to young people.

For example, median income for young families, those headed by persons younger than age 30, fell by 26 percent between 1973 and 1986, but for the less educated, the decrease was disastrous. Median earnings dropped by one-half among young black families and one-third among young Hispanic families. Earnings for dropouts almost disappeared--more than one-half of young blacks who headed families and had dropped out of school reported no earnings at all in 1986.[7]

"That one out of every three children in a young family now officially does not have enough to live on should shame us all," says Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund. "It should also scare us all. These are the children on whom we must rely to be the workers, leaders, parents, taxpayers, soldiers, and hope of the 21st century. We are getting them off to the worst possible start."

Need for Building Anew and Rebuilding. Other "outside" factors are contributing to a groundswell of interest in changing school structures.

One is the need to boost supports for the very young. The traditional demarcation between the preschool and school years is under fire--with major consequences for the organization of schooling. The mothers of one-half of all infants born in 1988 are estimated to have entered or returned to the workforce before their children were one year of age; three-fourths of all children under three are in the care of someone other than their parents at least part of the day. In 1985, there were 9.6 million children under age six whose mothers were in the labor force. By 1995, that number will rise to 15 million.

While the quality and quantity of care facilities for very young children is a problem for most families, the extreme lack of quality preschool programs for three- and four-year-olds from economically disadvantaged families further expands the gap between the haves and have-nots. Federal programs serve only one of every five eligible preschool children from poor families. Another dimension to the concern about very young, poor children encompasses the "comprehensiveness" of the supports they and their families need. Traditionally, the provision of non-educational services is an area that schools have left to other institutions. But the success of a delivery of multiple services through Head Start--and the stark needs of poor children--indicate that collaboration and coordination of services within school structures are not only feasible but necessary for these children.

"Outside" issues also are contributing to a renewed interest in the middle grades--and a call for the restructuring of middle/junior high schools. It is in early adolescence that a young person makes decisions that determine his or her life chances--in academic preparation, in sexual activity and other health areas, in the choice of friends and out-of-school interests. It is during these years that most young people who will drop out of school begin to make that decision. These are the years when problems with drug/alcohol abuse often are first evident.

The focus of attention on early adolescents by foundations, researchers, and some policymakers, in many instances, has been on redesigning school environments to better reflect the developmental needs of this age group. *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the 21st Century,* a 1989 report from the Carnegie Corporation's Council on Adolescent Development, recommends many of the strategies known to be effective for this age group, such as smaller units for students and teachers, team teaching, greater adult-student interaction, an emphasis upon physical as well as academic development, and opportunities to explore multiple interests."

"Organizations are not ordinarily self-reviewing or self-reforming. Powerful outside forces are usually necessary if reform is to take place. The modern corporation offers a case in point. Its incentives to change, whether it is product lines, internal organization, customer relations, or management are largely external. (These) are...competitive forces.... Left to their own devices, few managers or CEOs--in either the private or the public sector--would change, because the attraction of the familiar...is so powerful. That's true of corporations, labor unions, government bureaucracies, families, fraternal associations, churches, and schools."

David Kearns and Denis Doyle, in *Winning the Brain Race*

The 'Engagement' and 'Bonding' Issues. The interest in restructuring also stems from concern about students' loss of interest in the value of education. At the heart of many of the concerns about the schooling experience of American students is growing evidence of a lack of "engagement" by students in learning. The most consistent manifestation of this is found in results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). No matter what the subject--mathematics, reading, science, history--recent analyses of the NAEP surveys point to a persistent problem.[9] Students are mastering basic skills but are unable to interpolate, extend, interpret, or use information in everyday life. These failings occur at a turning point in the nation's fortunes. As the United States becomes more dependent upon a global economy and upon technology, the problem-solving abilities of its citizens and their desire to be constant learners become crucial assets.

This is a multi-faceted problem, encompassing more than just textbook revisions. However, at the same time it is recognized as a problem, answers are provided through the accumulation of research on teaching and learning, a fertile resource not heretofore generally available to the field. The research underscores today's interest in the classroom and teacher-student interactions as the place for substantive reforms.

The lack of engagement has a corollary in the values expressed by young people. "Bonding" to societal values appears to be weakened in today's adolescents. Participation in civic life is an indicator of a healthy society. The lack of civic understanding and participation among young people, unfortunately, also indicates that traditional programs and supports within schools fail to help young people make "connections" to their communities. As disturbing as the poor performance of American youth on tests of knowledge of history and of civics is their withdrawal from civic involvement.

Analyses of the "High School and Beyond" longitudinal surveys indicate that participation in all extracurricular activities, but especially those involving service, decline during the high school years. By their senior year, three-fourths of all students are working at least part-time. While this phenomenon can be considered a plus in some ways, it also means that young people have substituted work--often in dead-end jobs that further isolate them from adult society and provide few opportunities to develop societal values--for experiences that "bond" them to their communities and to common values in society.

Youth participation in volunteer activities after high school is the lowest of any age group, according to Independent Sector--only 43 percent for the 18-to-24 age group. This was the figure in 1985, representing an 11 percent decrease since a similar survey of volunteerism in 1981. For those in college, surveys of incoming freshmen conducted since 1967 show that "developing a meaningful philosophy of life" is a goal that has steadily declined as important. Meanwhile, "being well off financially" has just as steadily increased, representing the key goal of more than three-fourths of students in 1987.

Young people today have the right to exercise the privilege of voting earlier than generations past. Yet, according to various surveys analyzed by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc., American youth ages 18 to 24 have the lowest voter participation rate of major industrialized countries; and this figure continues to decline, although the rate for black and Hispanic youth rose slightly between 1980 and 1984.

> **"We are moving into an era in which the traditional separation between working and learning is disappearing, with learning becoming increasingly integrated into a person's worklife."**
>
> **Economist Noyelle Thierry**

Schools rightfully cannot be blamed for or take full responsibility for the alienation of young people from common values of American society. However, leaders such as former Atlanta Superintendent Alonzo Crim and sociologist James Coleman of the University of Chicago emphasize that the loss of social supports which traditionally instilled such values in the young must be recognized and the supports must be replenished by other institutions. Crim acted to do just this by instituting a service requirement for all high school students in the Atlanta public schools. Coleman says that schools must help recreate what he terms "social capital," those personal networks and relationships that establish values for children and young people.

A New Valuing of Teaching. A final major rationale for the surge of interest in restructuring schools concerns the public's and policymakers' change in attitude about teachers and the importance of classroom effects.

Debate in public education for more than two decades looked outside of the classroom for answers to improving education--to the development of specialists, to support of categorical programs matching students needs, to state and federal policymaking, to teacher-proof materials--to just about everything except teaching itself.

Policies to enforce greater accountability soon recognized that changes would be needed in how teachers are selected, trained, certified, and rewarded before significant improvements would come about. The major contribution to this thinking came from *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century.* It set the tone and character for policy interests, focusing attention on teachers (training and certification) and, then, to the teaching environment (salaries and rewards); and, most recently, to the classroom structure for learning (empowerment, curriculum revisions, and engagement of students in learning).

A Concept in Flux

As administrators, teachers, policymakers, researchers, parents, and students enter into a national dialogue about how to change education, it is obvious that "restructuring" is a concept in flux.

Obviously, the ideas about restructuring of schools have not yet "gelled." In addition, discussions about restructuring make it evident this is a movement that will not be boxed, drawn up as a set of skills, developed as a model, or adopted under a single vision.

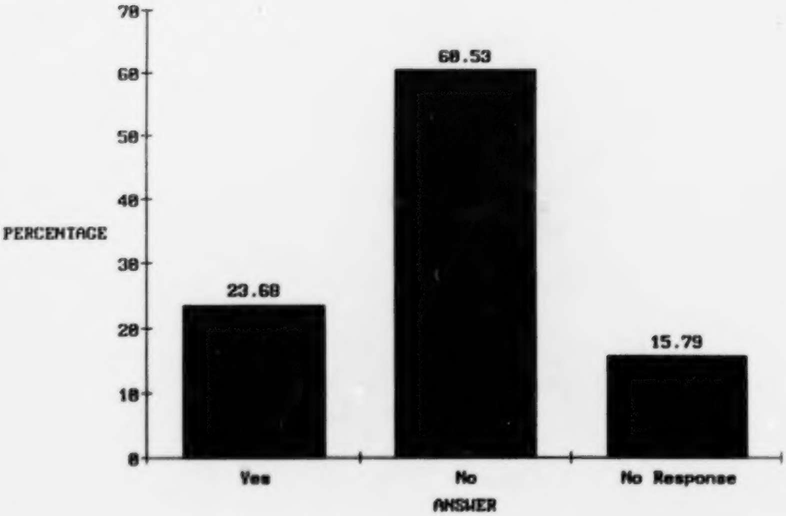
At this time, restructuring is a change in "attitude," one that recognizes the current system of schooling does not work for a significant number of children and young people and will not provide experiences that ensure excellent opportunities for all young people as they move toward leadership of society in the 21st century. Further, the pressure for restructuring is not the sole province of a single group or interest. It is a collaborative interest of governors, legislators, business leaders, parent groups, teacher unions, administrators, researchers, and child advocates.

This report, therefore, does not present an idea about the restructuring of schools. It is full of many ideas, lessons learned so far, and skills needed. It begins, though, by putting the current movement to change schooling into perspective.

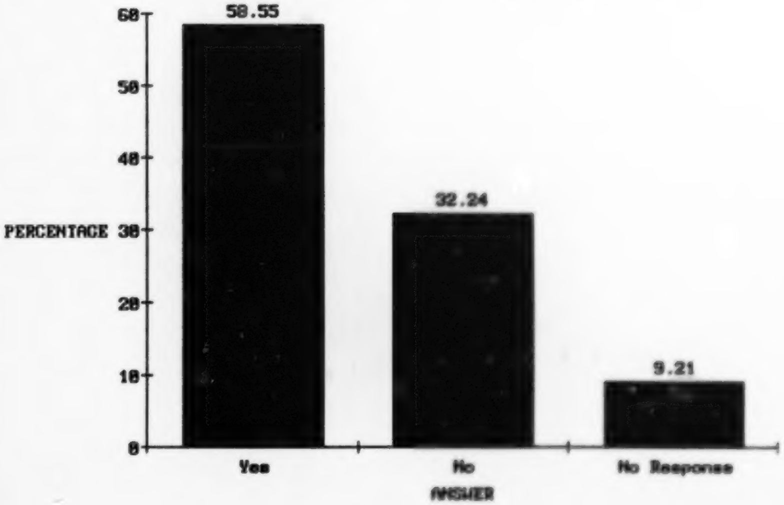
What Administrators Believe About Restructuring

The survey conducted by the American Association of School Administrators for this publication indicated the ambivalence of the respondents to the various proposals or programs underway as restructuring efforts. While the survey results, based on a small sample of AASA members, were heavily skewed toward administrators from non-urban districts, the respondents also represented the leadership of school districts making up the bulk of local school systems in this country. As such, they may reflect "official" positions of local and state organizations.

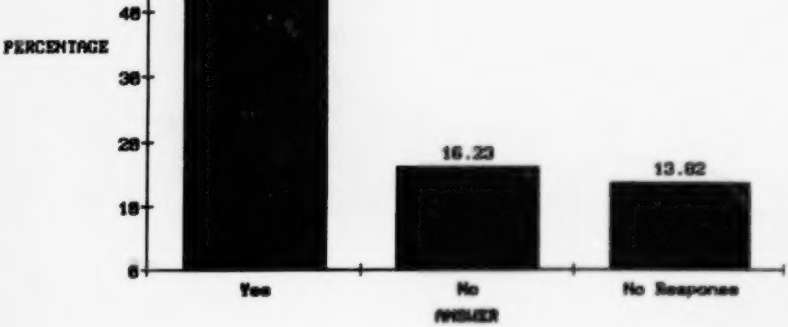
Reorganizing District Structure/Governance



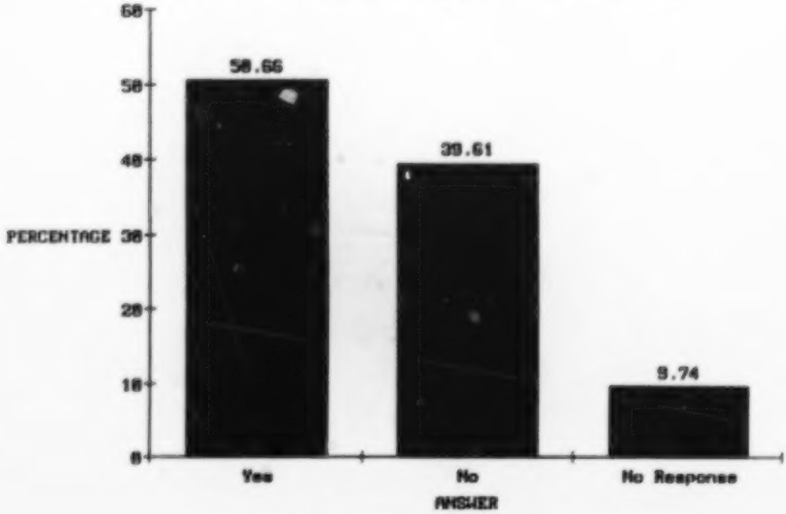
Requiring More Accountability from Teachers



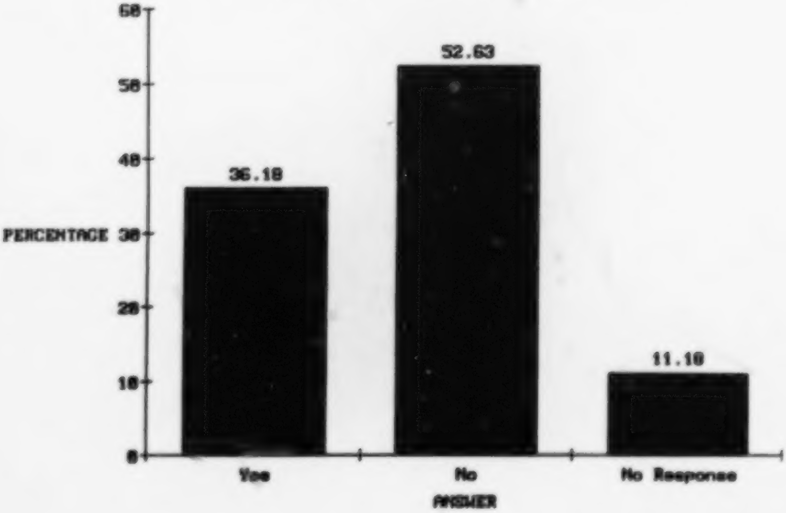
Providing More Individualized Instruction to Students



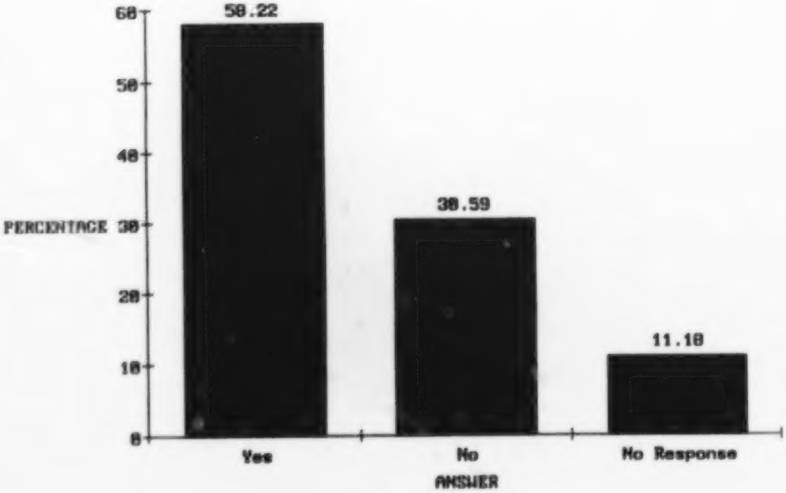
Reorganizing Faculty Practices
(e.g. Differentiated Staffing, Flexible Scheduling)



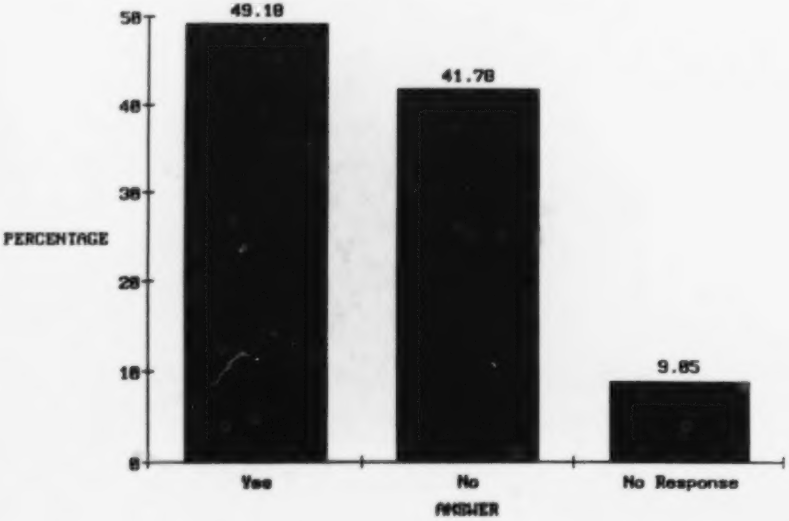
Establishing Restructuring Experiments

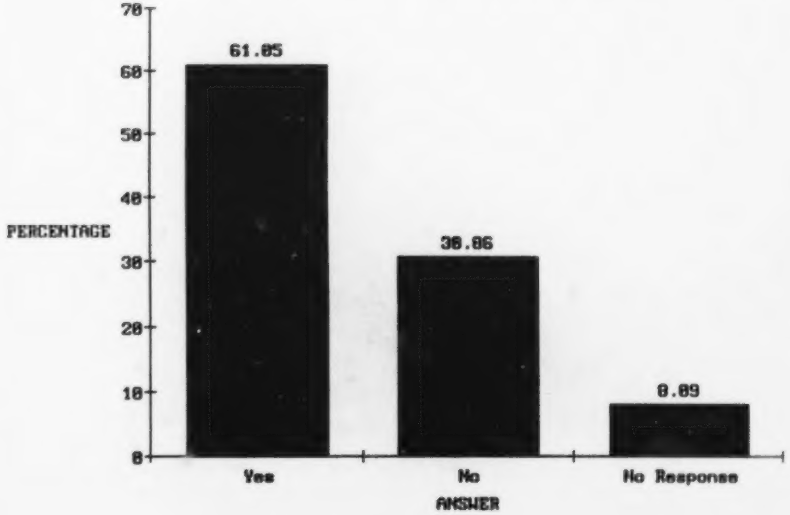


Restructuring of Teaching Methods (e.g. Cooperative Learning)

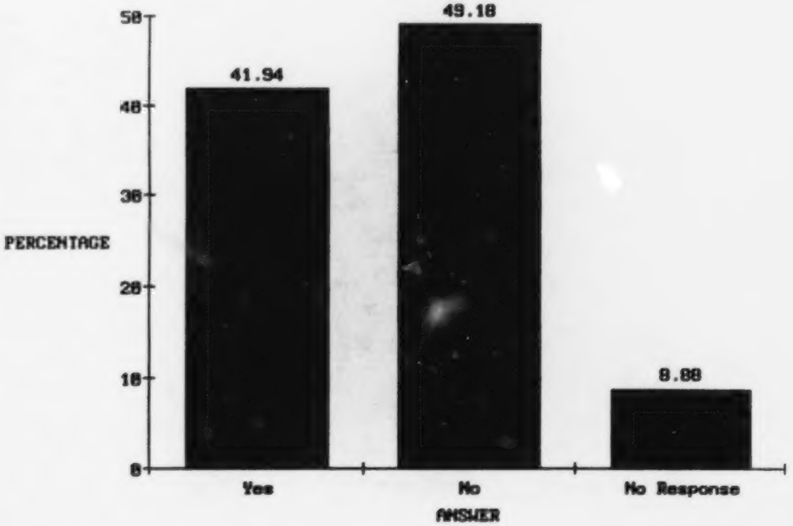


Restructuring of Curriculum



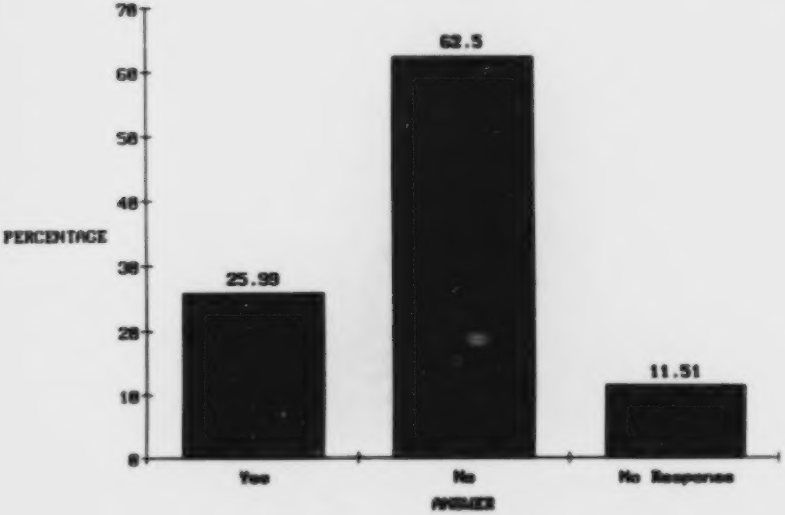


Giving Greater Authority to the School

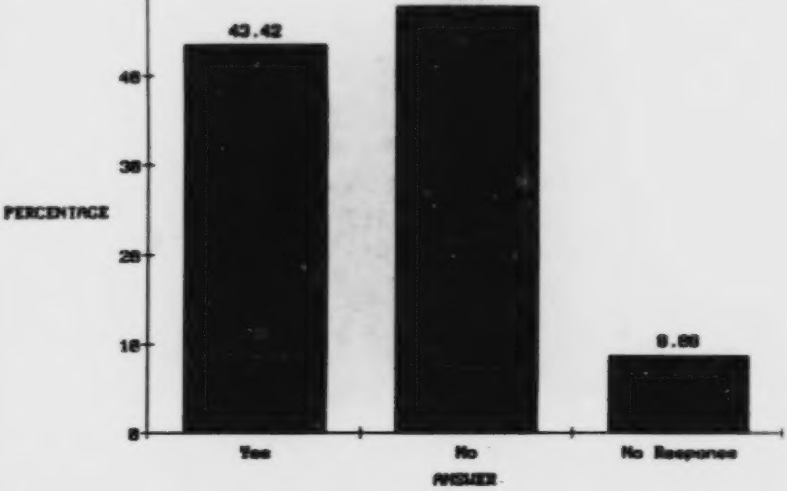


Giving Greater Authority to Teachers

Improving Teacher Education



Providing More Support for Teachers
(e.g. Increasing Salaries, Reducing Teaching Loads)



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3. Ken Michaels, "Caution: Second-Wave Reform Taking Place," *Educational Leadership,* February 1988, p. 3, Alexandria, Va.

4. Ibid.

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The importance of giving
responsibility for decisions
about what goes on in the classroom
to local schools and to teachers has been
a theme of various education reform attempts for several decades,
but this time several factors may set reforms apart....

CHAPTER II

THE NEW REFORMS:
EMBEDDED IN HISTORY OR HEROICS?

Has the pressure to restructure schools sprung full-bloom from the rhetoric of policymakers, politicians, and others? Or does this elephant have a short memory, forgetting the educational reforms of the past and their similarities to those of today?

An answer partially depends on the definition or vision one gives to the notion of school restructuring. Those who view the current movement as just another top-down fad that will disappear when other priorities of society gain dominance tend to dismiss it as not permanently relevant. "We've been here before," is their attitude.

To believe that giving teachers more control will lead to serious structural changes "is a leap of faith, at best," and has no historical basis, replied one Pennsylvania superintendent in the survey for this report.

But others put restructuring into a more positive niche. "The restructuring of schools," said the director of education for Boys Town in Nebraska, "should be a constant undertaking to meet the needs of our everchanging society." And a superintendent from New York pointed out that education has not basically changed itself from the late 1890s, "but there have been changes which have kept pace with a changing society." That change is fast-paced right now, she said: "Schools need to be responsive and, at the same time, get out ahead of the pack." Implied in this administrator's comments is the need for communities, particularly through their representation on school boards, to allow change to take place and, further, to encourage risk taking by teachers and administrators.

Because the proposals to restructure schools encompass fairly recent rhetoric and are being played out in only small pieces so far, even their role in an historical context is subject to more opinion than fact.

An Instrument for Social Change

More than that of any institution in society, the history of the public schools reflects their use as an instrument of change, believe many who take a historical view. Lawrence Cremin, professor at Teachers College/Columbia University and author of a three-volume history of American education, finds strength in the "politicization" of schooling, which he views as its responsiveness to social needs and social aspirations.

In an interview for *Education Week*,[1] Cremin noted that "the public has seen education as a way of achieving certain social goals. Education has been very much intertwined with the most fundamental American aspirations.... On the other hand, there is sometimes an unrealism to what Americans think they can accomplish through their schools.... There are...people today who think that, somehow, if we redraw the curriculum of the secondary school, we'll suddenly become economically competitive in the world, without recognizing that it has everything to do with government economic policy, the Federal Reserve, et cetera."

Holding a similar view are Thomas Timar of Harvard University and David Kirp of the University of California/Berkeley, writing in the August 1987 issue of the ***Harvard Educational Review***.[2] Since the end of the 19th century, they say, education has not been appreciated for its intrinsic value but for what it could do--its instrumental value:

> The instrumental view of education is part of a national penchant for pragmatism--for focusing on what works--that is rooted in American culture. But when the crisis that education is to solve disappears, so does the public's interest. Education in the United States, especially since World War II, has been subject to these episodic waves of public concern followed by periods of neglect. At various times over the past 80 years, education has been regarded as creating social and political harmony by integrating immigrants into the mainstream of American life, as creating a more "efficient" society ordered along industrial lines, as promoting social progressivism, as saving the nation from totalitariancommunism, and as helping to regain America's comp.titive edge in international economic markets.

As long as this instrumental view of education prevails, say Timar and Kirp, the value of schooling will vary according to the different demands of the day. Equally distracting from a commitment to excellence, they add, is the tension between egalitarian goals and excellence, which results in a rather bland offering in the schools.

If a vision of excellence is to become integrated into the organizational consciousness of schools, Timor and Kirp say, then institutional and individual incentives, behaviors, and attitudes, as well as cultural values, must be transformed. What has happened too often in the past, however, is that reforms "are recast to meet organizational needs," rather than the reforms changing the system.

Standing Still in a Vortex. Larry Cuban, former superintendent of schools in Arlington, Virginia, and now associate dean at Stanford University, wonders how public schools have remained remarkably the same for the past 100 years, while society has changed so much. He answers the puzzle by making a distinction between "first-order changes" (those that improve efficiency but leave the basic organizational structure intact, such as recruiting better teachers or selecting better textbooks) and "second-order changes" (those that alter organizations fundamentally, such as open classrooms, vouchers and teacher-run schools).

The past three decades of policymaking in education at federal and state levels furthered first-order changes, Cuban said in a January 1988 article in *Phi Delta Kappan*.[3] Many of the reforms adopted or proposed in recent years ignore the differences between these two levels of change, reflecting "the power of organizational norms, and of a pervasive amnesia about earlier school reforms." Cuban doesn't favor one type of change over another, pointing out that not all change is necessarily an improvement; but he does argue for an understanding of different types of reforms.

Impediments to Change. Another, but confirming, view of different levels of school change comes from John Goodlad's *Study of Schooling*. Barbara Benham Tye, a member of the team that gathered data on the 13 high schools in the study, found that although each was different, they all shared what she calls a "deep structure of schooling." That is, the commonly held values of Americans as to "desirable and appropriate educational experiences for children and young people." This deep structure also is shaped by conventional wisdom, tradition, vested interests, and some institutional inertia, she says. An example would be the "control orientation" of schooling, an emphasis on "controlling" students which affects everything from school board policies to architects' drawings.

Yet, each school has its own personality, Tye notes. A school's power to change depends upon "the configuration of characteristics that make up its unique personality," such as communication among faculty, relationships between teachers and the principal, and teaching resources. These aspects are easier to affect than those of a deep structure and ordinarily must precede any radical changes.

Tackling a fundamental change is risky, Tye writes in the December 1987 *Phi Delta Kappan*. She sees most change efforts faltering in about the third year because they were undertaken "without sufficient attention to all the systemic pressures and consequences involved." However, the "personality" changes should not be downplayed. "Improving staff interaction, solving specific school problems, building mechanisms for shared decision making, and all the many other possible goals for school improvement at this level are extremely worthwhile," she concludes.

"The failure of academics to influence these reforms would be most ironic if they turned out to be 'successful'; that is, if all students successfully completed the new requirements. People will take comfort in another unit of English--which could mean anything from Shakespeare to creative conversation--and kid themselves that the schools have been 'fixed.' The students will have remained ignorant; they will not be more responsible citizens; they will not be more creative; and therefore their own lives and their nation's future will be blighted because we've chosen the wrong response to the right challenge."

Ernest Boyer, 1986

An equally cautious view of past attempts to reform schools is expressed by Richard Elmore and Milbrey McLaughlin in *Steady Work*, a 1988 report for the National Institute of Education prepared by the RAND Corporation.[4] Its summary states:

> The history of American education is, in large part, the history of recurring cycles of reform. There is considerable disagreement over the meaning and effects of these cycles. Reform has historically had little effect on teaching and learning in classrooms. In this pessimistic sense, educational reform is 'steadywork.' That is, measured by substantial changes in what is taught and how, the rewards are puny; but the work is steady, because of the seemingly limitless supply of new ideas for how schools should be changed and no shortage of political and social pressure to force those ideas onto the political agenda. Reforms that deal with the fundamental stuff of education--teaching and learning--seem to have weak, transitory, and ephemeral effects; while those

that expand, solidify, and entrench school bureaucracy seem to have strong, enduring, and concrete effects.

Lessons from the Past

The cycles of reform analyzed by Elmore and McLaughlin are very contemporary, particularly the growth of federal policy as a force for change. Implied in their study, and in those of others, is a fact not strongly present in pre-World War II reforms--the rapid appearances of cycles. Educators have had little time to breathe between the demands placed by society on schools as instruments for change to:

- Redress discrimination
- Respond to civil rights on broad fronts
- Provide student choice, then revert soon afterward to narrowly conceived basic skills
- Make up for a loss in thinking skills
- Offer parental choice
- Take on early childhood education, and
- Redo their environments to correspond to changes in the workplace.

Not all of these involved fundamental reforms, but they represent constant waves of implied, if not real, changes. Perhaps it is understandable that the public education sector, washed over constantly with strong reform currents and occasional rip tides, has appeared to dig its heels in as a way of keeping on its feet.

Foundations Play Significant Role. If the core of public education, the interaction that takes place between teachers and students, has remained largely impervious to change, another sector--the nation's large foundations--has, by contrast, built up a considerable knowledge of teacher- and school-based change. Indeed, on a continuum that began in the 1950s, it is the work of foundations that perhaps has most contributed to an understanding of school reform--and the need for it.

Almost every major, non-federal report on education in the past few years owes its existence, at least in part, to foundation support. *High School,* by Ernest Boyer, came from the Carnegie Foundation, as have reports on teachers, higher education, youth service, and a forthcoming study on early childhood education. The Carnegie Corporation supported the Forum that produced *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century;* is helping to underwrite a national teacher certification board and attempts by state government at reforms, and is supporting a new look at education through its Council on Adolescent Development. Several foundations made the research and writing possible for Theodore Sizer's *Horace's Compromise* and the other books undertaken by the Commission on Educational Issues of the National Association of Independent Schools, *The Shopping Mall High School* and *The Last Little Citadel.*

The Danforth Foundation, among others, underwrote a study on reforming the education of school administrators, *Leaders for America's Schools,* and was one of many foundations supporting the early work of John Goodlad, which resulted in *A Place Called School.*

The two foundation-supported research projects that contributed greatly to the base for an understanding of the current focus on the school and teaching are those of Goodlad and of the Comprehensive School Improvement Program sponsored by the Ford Foundation in the 1960s.

I believe historians in the year 2059 will regard the American experience in democracy as a great and successful adventure of the human race. Furthermore, as an essential part of this adventure–indeed, as the basic element in the 20th century–they will praise the revolutionary transformation of America's treatment of its children and its youth. They will regard the American public school, as it was perfected by the end of the 20th century, not only as one of the finest products of democracy, but as continuing insurance for the preservation of the vitality of a society of free men."

James Bryant Conant, 1959

Investing $30 million in about 25 projects, the Ford program introduced a broad range of innovations into a variety of school systems--all at once. Each project was different, designed to build the capacities of school systems to create change of their own design or to adapt appropriate models. The ideas spanned curriculum, staffing, technology, teaching methods, and uses of time and space; and each project was tied to a university campus in some fashion.

A post-mortem report on the effort, *A Foundation Goes to School*,[5] discussed both successes and failures, seeking lessons that could be learned from what Ford's program officer in education Edward Meade, Jr., describes as "a sustained, well-funded, and thoughtful effort to improve schooling by means of a coherent set of innovative strategies." Some of the lessons:

- The projects did not firmly establish innovations in practice or result in widespread improvement in the quality of educational programs.
- It is much more difficult to put the products of educational research and development into practice in schools than had been thought, especially in cities.
- University-based expertise does not have a lasting impact on schools or their teachers.
- More money per se does not necessarily guarantee better results.

Lesson Learned: Teachers are Pivotal to Change. Basically, says Meade, "these diverse efforts underestimated the complexity of improving schools." The political, social, and economic forces that make up the greater school community must be taken into consideration. Ford Foundation efforts turned toward "inquiry" and learning from experience, rather than an established process, and toward the centrality of the teacher. It learned, says Meade, that "the ultimate innovator in schools was the teacher." A major result of the study was that "lasting and significant changes would not occur unless teachers were directly and actively involved in the planning and development of the desired changes." Further, "the importance of the individual school itself--rather than the school system--emerged as the proper focus for effort to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Innovators must take "scale" into consideration, Meade observed:

> It was the school not the school system, the teacher not all teachers, the pupil not all pupils, and the teaching unit not the packaged curriculum--the 'micro' and not the 'macro' perspec-

tive--that most critically affected the success of most ventures to improve the quality of teaching and learning.

Meade's summary of the lessons learned was made in 1979, fully five years before innovation and change became bywords of policymaking in education, policymaking which Ford Foundation officials might have wanted to shake their heads, and fingers, at.[6] The rash of reforms instituted largely by state governments, as described later in this chapter, generally ignored the knowledge learned by the Comprehensive School Improvement Program.

Understanding Schools Should Be the Beginning. As the Ford Foundation program ended, John Goodlad began his analysis of public schools, published as *A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future in 1983.*[7] The underlying precept of his study is that an understanding of schools must precede attempts to improve them. The study encompassed 13 school districts; 38 schools; intensive classroom observations; central data gathering and interviews or surveys with 27,000 teachers, parents, and students.

"One of the major messages of this report," Goodlad says in his introduction, "is that improvement is essentially a school-by-school process, enlightened by the degree to which those associated with each school and trying to improve it have the data required for building a useful agenda." His recommendations for changing schools use boldly, for the first time, that now familiar word--restructuring.

"The agenda for restructuring the schools we have is a demanding one," Goodlad concludes, but "at its heart is the need for data of a contextual sort to guide the determination of priorities by planning groups of responsive parties at the school site level."

Right From Wrong

An astute and long-time observer of the link between changes in society and changes in education is Harold Howe II, former U.S. Commissioner of Education and currently a member of the faculty of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Howe also

chaired the William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth Policy. These comments were made at a 1987 symposia at Harvard University on Excellence and Equity in Education.

Undergirding today's school reform movement is a significant shift in the nature of job opportunities in this country, as a larger and larger proportion of workers with good jobs are employed in the service sector of the economy. The Secretary of Labor announced recently that 90 percent of new jobs in the United States required skills in literacy and numeracy that many of our present population do not have. Apparently the change in the nature of new and well-rewarded jobs has taken place more rapidly than has the success of the schools in educating a larger portion of the population. Schools have improved, but they have not improved enough to meet the demands of the job market.

When we add to this situation the further fact that a growing proportion of our public school population will be made up of the children of poor, Black, Hispanic, and immigrant families, with whom schools are still less successful than with other groups, an interesting juxtaposition is created by the equity/excellence relationship. Suddenly, it appears that our future supply of well-trained workers, upon whom our economic well-being depends, is in turn dependent on our being much more successful than we have been with promoting not just equity, but also excellence, among the children of poor and minority families.

This economic argument is the engine that is driving the present school reform movement. It demands that schools produce excellence among the children of the poor for the sake of the nation's economic health. It wastes little time with concepts of equity or of our nation's need for independent-minded citizens to make a democracy and a complex society workable. Lip service is paid to these latter concepts, but after appropriate rhetoric has been supplied, school reform is back to the serious business of rescuing our corporations from Japanese competition. Very little has been said, in defining school reform's goals, about developing among youth an interest in international understanding.

I am not at all sure where this trend of doing the right things for the wrong reasons will take us. It could lead to substantial gains, as the inequities that characterize our schools are to some degree remedied by the initiatives of governors and business leaders who are increasingly committed to making our disadvantaged children more successful. If, however, the main reason for helping the poverty-stricken to succeed in school is a scarcity which has resulted from the small size of age cohorts for a few years, what will happen when the second generation of baby boomers appears, as it surely will? Will minorities and the poor again become expendable? The answer would appear to lie in the nature of the strategies devised to bring improved learning to schools.

So far, the wide-ranging school reform movement has been dominated by efforts to legislate excellence by requiring more courses, more tests, more homework, longer school hours, and the like. Somehow, much of this activity seems akin to trying to reduce the growth in the divorce rate by telling uncongenial couples they must spend more time together. It will produce more divorces, and I think that legislated school reform may produce more dropouts. I doubt that educational excellence can truly be legislated. Instead, I believe that excellence has to be patiently grown in schools that are given the resources to nurture that process. Some of the most significant building blocks of excellence in schools certainly cannot be legislated, and they may be destroyed or diminished by the kind of legislation we have already seen. These building blocks are teacher morale, student motivation, parental interest, and a humane school climate supportive of learning. Such intangible but significant aspects of any educational institution are absolutely essential to both equity and excellence.

False Starts Among the States

There is one point generally agreed to by almost all observers or participants in the education change process of the past few years. The initial efforts of the early to mid-1980s to produce reforms resulted, to a great extent, in more of the same. Some believe the initiatives, many of which were in response to the federal government's 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, actually may have impeded substantive reforms and intensified the problems for some groups of students.

The intentions certainly were positive and lofty. Out of the more than 270 task forces and commissions appointed among the states to answer the failings of the education system as outlined in *Risk* came stiffer high school graduation requirements, more attention to quality in the selection and training of teachers, higher teacher salaries, and additional time devoted to schooling. A few states attempted non-traditional strategies for improvement, such as merit pay and career ladders for teachers. At least two states, California and South Carolina, implemented comprehensive reform plans, with new demands for accountability from local school districts.

At the end of five years, education officials at every level could look back on what seemed an impressive record on paper. SAT scores, the informal national report card adopted by the public and media, had improved slightly. Students were enrolled in more challenging academic courses; dropout rates among at least one minority group, blacks, had decreased nationally.

The School Becomes Central to the Debate. Yet, concerns and criticisms about the nature and direction of much of the education reform movement kept interfering with the optimism. These came from many sources but seemed to converge on one point: Real change could occur only within the environment of a school which fostered genuine learning and growth in adults as well as students. The Committee for Economic Development, an influential group of business and higher education leaders, began to focus on the individual school as the core of reform in its reports; the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy emphasized changes needed in the working environment of teachers; the National Governors' Association couched policymaking in terms of empowering leadership at the school level.

This development, when it is defined as school-based management, is built on two basic beliefs, according to a joint statement of the American Association of School Administrators, the National Association of Elementary School Principals, and the National Association of Secondary School Principals. These beliefs are:

- Those most closely affected by decisions ought to play a significant role in making those decisions; and
- Educational reform efforts will be most effective and long-lasting when carried out by people who feel a sense of ownership and responsibility for the process.

> **"...(w)hat is now required in the modern educational system is not the expansion of its facilities or the specific reform of its curriculum and administration, but a thorough reconsideration of its underlying assumptions and of its purposes."**
>
> **Walter Lippmann, 1940**

From all evidence, it appears that the reform movement has returned to the "micro" view of change.

How this view contrasts with the state-level efforts is described by John Chubb of the Brookings Institution, writing in the winter 1988 issue of *The Public Interest*. "No matter how the current reforms are implemented, however, the most compelling reason for pessimism about their effectiveness is their conception," he said: "They allow little scope for improving those qualities of school organization that we think are crucial to school performance. Schools have not been granted more autonomy; they have had it taken away."

Similarly, "reforms will fail if they do not prompt schools to forge for themselves an organizational identity," Timar and Kirp stressed in their article in the *Harvard Educational Review*. "As long as teachers think of themselves as bureaucrats, and if they simply put in their hours with no thought or definition of what it is they are trying to achieve, schools will not change.... Schools need an organizational focus; teachers, parents, and administrators must decide on that focus and define it in the daily life of the school. This cannot be done through directives and regulations from state legislatures and centralized bureaucracies. It can only be done in the schools, by school personnel...." (Incidentally, the two researchers counted more than 700 statutes enacted nationwide between 1985 and 1987 that affected the teaching profession.)

A Warning on Centralization. A long-time student of state regulation of education, Arthur Wise, director of the RAND Corporation's Center for the Study of the Teaching Profession, sees a trend he documented 10 years ago as intensifying in the mid-1980s. His 1978 study, *Legislated Learning*, warned of the increasing dangers of centralization and regulation in education. In January 1988, Wise reported in *Phi Delta Kappan*[9] that it would be ironic--but perhaps not surprising--if "the most lasting effects on education of the reforms of the Reagan era were to be a big push toward central management of education, a further diminution in the power of local officials, and a decrease in the responsiveness of the schools to their clientele."

Increasing state control over education--and national, as well, when the National Assessment of Educational Progress reports state-by-state comparisons in early 1990--can be traced to the adoption of mandated "scientific management" of the 1970s, Wise says. When the reform movement of the 1980s came along, state efforts built on such management techniques and their emphasis on accountability.

The Different Faces of Change

Just how much recent school reform has concentrated on "first-level" changes, on the "personality" factors rather than deep structural changes, is illustrated in an analysis by David Plank of the University of Pittsburgh.[10] He divides state reform efforts into four categories:

- Additive, e.g. increased salaries
- External, e.g. pre-service teacher tests
- Regulatory, e.g. longer school day; and
- Structural, e.g. career ladders or vouchers.

Almost all of the 1980 initiatives fall into the first two categories, according to Plank.

Tables 1 and 2, on the following pages, provide a state-by-state overview of these reform efforts as categorized by Plank.

TABLE 1

Approved Reforms, by States and Categories, 1983-1985

	ADDITIVE[a]	EXTERNAL[b]	REGULATORY[c]	STRUCTURAL[d]	TOTAL	% CHANGE IN ED REVENUES[e]
•AL	1	6	2	0	9	5.21
AK	0	2	1	0	3	33.17
AZ	0	6	2	0	8	-7.15
•AR	1	2	3	0	6	25.16
CA	1	5	2	1	9	29.70
CO	0	0	1	0	1	26.20
CT	0	3	1	0	4	25.30
DE	2	4	4	0	10	16.66
•FL	1	6	4	1	12	31.05
•GA	1	6	1	0	8	22.13
HI	0	1	0	0	1	12.85
ID	1	3	2	1	7	15.22
IL	0	1	0	1	2	6.63
IN	0	4	2	0	6	24.33
IA	0	3	0	0	3	-5.06
KS	1	4	2	1	8	10.43
•KY	1	5	3	0	9	14.54
•LA	2	6	3	0	11	11.09
ME	3	4	1	1	9	20.95
MD	0	4	0	0	4	16.91
MA	0	1	1	0	2	16.94
MI	0	0	2	0	2	-4.24
MN	1	0	1	0	2	12.98
•MS	2	4	2	0	8	26.00
MO	1	6	0	0	7	17.76
MT	0	2	0	0	2	5.70
NE	0	3	1	1	5	7.46
NV	0	4	1	0	5	25.61
NH	0	3	3	0	6	23.79
NJ	1	4	0	1	6	21.23
NM	0	3	0	0	3	3.17
NY	0	5	0	0	5	19.43
•NC	1	7	4	0	12	24.94
ND	0	0	2	0	2	2.91
OH	0	2	2	0	4	10.31
•OK	1	3	1	1	6	-22.52

TABLE 1 Continued

	ADDITIVE[a]	EXTERNAL[b]	REGULATORY[c]	STRUCTURAL[d]	TOTAL	% CHANGE IN ED REVENUES[e]
OR	0	3	1	0	4	1.29
PA	0	4	1	0	5	17.52
RI	0	4	1	0	5	13.14
*SC	3	5	5	1	14	14.28
SD	0	4	1	0	5	6.61
*TN	2	6	3	1	12	20.31
*TX	1	6	2	1	10	32.04
UT	0	3	0	1	4	14.55
VT	0	3	2	0	5	15.74
*VA	1	5	1	1	8	28.59
WA	0	3	1	0	4	22.38
WV	1	3	3	0	7	12.02
WI	0	1	1	0	2	16.77
WY	0	2	1	0	3	34.04
	30	174	77	14	295	17.51

[a] Additive reforms: Salary increase, new minimum salary, mandatory kindergarten, pre-school initiatives.

[b] External reforms: Pre-service competency tests, revised certification standards, raised education school standards, aid to prospective teachers, raised graduation standards, exit test, raised college admission standards.

[c] Regulatory reforms: Longer school day/school year, limits on extracurricular activities, reduced class size, statewide assessment, promotional gates test.

[d] Structural reforms: Career ladder, merit pay.

[e] 1983-1987, Constant dollars.

*Southern States

SOURCES; *Education Week*, February 5, 1985; Odden, 1987, Table 9.

TYPOLOGY OF MAJOR SCHOOL REFORMS

Additive	External	Regulatory	Structural
New revenues	Pre-service teacher tests	Longer school day	Career ladders
Increased salaries	Certification changes	Longer school year	Smaller classes
Pre-school initiatives	Education school standards	Fewer extracurricular activities	Inservice teacher tests
Mandatory kindergarten	New high school graduation requirements	More basic skills	Vouchers/tax credits
Computer literacy	Exit tests	Statewide assessment	
Aid to prospective teachers	New college admissions standards		

Political bargaining and organizational dynamics resulted in reforms that tended to reinforce rather than challenge current structures of schools, Plank says. Further, "they have constrained school reform movements...in ways that have ensured that the main consequence of reform has been further homogenization rather than differentiation among school systems both across and within states."

States Reassess Their Efforts. Significantly, state leadership in the latter half of the decade began to realize the shortcomings of its approaches and to seek other ways of reforming schools. For example, several states entered into an experimental federal-state partnership to decrease regulations in return for improved academic performance in selected school districts. Other states, on their own, approved pilot projects permitting greater freedom of decisionmaking at school levels.

While many states were adopting the "scientific management" approach toward reform, an alternate view of how to go about improving the teaching-learning equation grew from those studies based on accurate portrayals of the synergism within schools and classrooms. These were the observations of Mortimer Adler, Ernest Boyer, Theodore Sizer, and John Goodlad. Toward the end of the 1980s, their views began to take hold, particularly among teacher groups.

For example, a 1987 invitational conference sponsored by the Education Commission of the States in Chicago examined the past four active years of state leadership in education reforms and looked ahead. It drew up an unfinished agenda:

- Increased attention to youth at-risk, whom the state leaders admitted had been overlooked in the "first wave" of reforms
- Greater support of families
- Restructuring of the teaching profession, including the selection and preparation of teachers
- New concepts of leadership at the school site which would redirect the use of time and energy and empower teachers to engage young people actively in learning
- Concentration on higher literacies for all students through policies dealing with curriculum, testing, accountability, financing, and

teacher preparation and development.

"For policy leaders," said former ECS Vice President Patrick Callan, "the issues are more fundamental, more complicated, and more subtle than the standard-setting reforms of recent years. Much of our agenda is less susceptible to direct state mandate. Can we develop accountability and finance mechanisms that encourage and stimulate leadership for improved learning at the district and school levels...? Can we do this without putting local leaders in a straight jacket, in a situation where compliance with mandates supersedes student learning as the primary consideration?"

Red Lights or Green Ones? This reassessment of education policymaking is evolving into a general agreement on the primacy of the teacher-student interaction. Should educational leaders view this scene as one of shifting sands or of a strong rock that will, after decades of outside attempts to slip it under the public schools, become the base for fundamental and profound changes?

In several ways the restructuring movement may be limited by forces similar to those which undermined attempts at major reforms in the past.

The Pulls

- Short-range views. The business community, which is a driving influence for school improvement upon state leadership in particular, may find its climate and conditions changing, either because of improved economic conditions or worsening ones, which will divert business' attention to more short-range undertakings.
- Overriding impatience. Business leaders and policymakers may be too impatient for the long-range results, which restructuring embodies, and turn to even more radical approaches, such as privatization of schooling.
- Settling for minimums. The impending shortage of teachers and administrators may divert attention away from investing in leadership that will carry out restructuring's goals and toward minimum standards for educators in order to just fill the vacancies.
- Competing demands. Demands for not only talent but also funding, such as with health care or care of the elderly, may diminish the prospects for significant changes in schooling.

- Taking the easy route. It is easier to impose regulation than to encourage inspiration. The regulatory mode of education reform may prevail, primarily because the means for accountability remain traditional ones.
- Ambiguous goals. The vision of what restructuring is all about may not be internalized by educational leadership or adopted as goals by the public-at-large.
- Lack of incentives. The messages about changes perceived as necessary in education may not be accompanied with enough incentives for educators and lay leadership to drastically alter their ways of professional thinking and behaving.

On the other hand, there are significant differences between what is happening now and past attempts to change the structure of schooling.

The Pushes

- Universal recognition of the problems. While the business community is out in front on restructuring, it is joined by teacher groups, researchers, administrators, and policymakers at different levels who recognize that schools are not meeting the needs of a large number of students.
- Long-range emphasis. Major components of restructuring supported by these groups are long-range goals, such as investments in early childhood education, which would give the education sector time to prove its ability and willingness to change.
- No one model. Restructuring, while concentrated on classroom interactions, does not imply a model which can be accepted or rejected easily. It has many components, depends upon locally designed initiatives, and needs to be taken in incremental steps.
- Teacher involvement. Sustained change comes about when those responsible for implementing it are involved from the beginning. Much of the impetus for restructuring today comes from teachers themselves.
- A research base. Research on teaching and learning supports the goals of restructuring, a tool not always evident in periods of attempted change in the past.
- Better communication and support. Networks and other forms of

communication to make use of research and of restructuring ideas and results exist in greater numbers and strengths than in the past.

- A profound necessity for change. Too much has changed in the economy and in society to allow schools to avoid deep, structural transformations.

Most of the rest of this report discusses the structural changes underway, or proposed. It is a report more on ideas, than on facts. Its base is a journey through a major change of "attitudes" taking place throughout the country.

Specific restructuring efforts, at this time, are scattershot. Many are struggling, but many also have infused educators, schools, and school districts with incredible energy and exciting visions. Taken together, they just may be creating a "critical mass" that will influence American public education for decades to come.

A Winning Team

The word is out in West Germany about a new kind of school that is revolutionizing the way teachers teach and students learn--and leading educators, in America as well as in West Germany, are taking note. The Koln-Holweide school, in Cologne, is a model school that is a radical departure from the overcrowded and impersonal "comprehensive" schools typical of that country. Already, the pioneering efforts of this school appear to be paying off--the Koln-Holweide system has been adopted in twenty West German schools, with great success every time.

The Koln-Holweide school is making strides with students that would make any educator proud: Only one percent of the school's 2,000 students drop out annually, as opposed to a

national West German average of 14 percent. In addition, 60 percent, versus 27 percent nationally, score well enough on a high school exit exam to go on to a four-year college. The secret lies in a system that fosters bonds between teachers and students; where harmony is a goal, not a side effect. Here, students learn from their fellow students and teachers learn from their fellow teachers. They exist in a very close-knit and planned "school community."

The founders of Koln-Holweide felt restructuring was needed to serve a large and diverse student body that was not responding to the traditional school setting. They wanted to impose a structure that would acknowledge the value of each student and, at the same time, provide an avenue through which students from very different backgrounds could work together to reach their potential. Toward this end, administrators of the school developed what they termed the "Team-Small-Group-Plan."

Under this system, students are brought together in groups of 85 to 90 to be team-taught by six to eight teachers. Unlike most team-teaching in America, these groups stay together for a six-year period, thus enabling the students and teachers to form strong, lasting bonds. Within the teams, students are further divided into classes of 27 to 30 students, and then into "table" groups of five or six, where they engage in cooperative learning. These groups feel a sense of responsibility for one another; they come to know that successful individuals mean a successful group, and they help each other reach that goal. Mentoring and empowerment are the main characteristics of the Koln-Holweide staff. Teachers support one another by continually providing constructive feedback and suggestions. They serve as mentors for students, as well. According to Anne Ratzki, headmistress of the school, teachers are responsible "for the total education of their students, for making sure that their students succeed, personally and academically."

Empowerment is more than a buzzword at Koln-Holweide. Teachers enjoy a great deal of autonomy. They establish curricula, determine the teams, and are involved in all major decisions. Administrators are required to be on teams and teach a designated number of classes a week; thus they retain the sense of communality and an understanding of teachers that helps to promote the goals of the school.

Thus, teamwork is more than just the cornerstone of the Koln-Holweide school's restructuring effort. You could say that it is the mortar that binds all elements together.

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The current mode of
restructuring of schools
has its philosophers and its
networks, all of whom share common
ideas about how schools must change....

THE 'BASICS' OF RESTRUCTURING

Restructuring may be in the eyes of the beholder. It may be taking place in hundreds of small ways, and in a few big ones, across the country. However, if restructuring efforts are of the order envisioned by those seeking to fundamentally change teaching and learning, they share common ideas with others about what should take place within a school.

The education reform reports, studies, and proposals that center on what happens between teachers and students began to appear even before the state policymaking push of the mid-1980s. While commissions and task forces focused on traditional solutions, Mortimer Adler, Ernest Boyer, Theodore Sizer, John Goodlad, Albert Shanker, Marc Tucker, and others looked at what was happening in classrooms and often came up with different views of the problems and different solutions. Today, their conclusions, and the further research they spawned, form the base of what is being called restructuring.

To some degree, all those contributing to the "philosophical" base of restructuring of education tread the same ground. David Florio of the National Science Foundation sums up these common themes by noting that restructuring of schools covers four categories:

- Content or substance. The attempt is to begin a fundamental shift away from encyclopedic, surface coverage of content and toward a deeper understanding of substantive knowledge, problem solving, creativity, and analytical thinking. In short, he says, "understanding and meaning must replace the 'skimming' that is now the norm in many classes." Not only curricular materials but also the tests used for accountability must change. And as tests change, teaching will become less reliant upon textbooks and more dependent upon a variety of resources, such as computer data bases, original source material, and reference materials, he says.
- People. Personnel structures will need radical change if schools cannot attract the talent they need, particularly in mathematics and science. Qualified teachers will need to guide and work with a variety of other adults--instructors, aides, interns, and peer tutors, for example. Technology will need to replace routine tasks and, therefore, free teachers for different roles. Students will need to be "active" learners.
- Place. The physical arrangements of schools are based on an antiquated, factory model of efficiency. The arrangements of people, materials, and equipment need an array of alternatives, from small work stations to large group settings.
- Time. The structure of student learning time needs to accommodate new curricula and learning goals, cooperative learning, and exploration of content in depth. Teachers need time for their own learning, group interactions, and shared decisionmaking.

Florio defines restructuring also as affecting the process that goes on within the above categories. The "technology" of learning and teaching must be more flexible, with different groupings and types of interactions (for example, cooperative learning, in which students master the objectives by working together in small groups; peer tutoring, which encourages students to coach each other; and adult-learner coaching, which places an emphasis upon the teacher or other adults as a "coach" of students, individually or in groups, rather than as a lecturer). It must be interdisciplinary. Decisionmaking must cover both instructional strategies and the allocation of school resources--and be shared by all professionals within the school.

Content, people, time, and flexibility of space, within a context of heightened use of all of these elements--these are the common themes among the major contributors to a working definition of the restructuring of schools. As proof of the strength of their approaches, the philosophers of the restructuring movement have sparked interest in their ideas among educators and spawned networks of schools and districts willing to try them out. Almost all of the major changes taking place in schools find their roots in one or the other, or a combination, of their visions.

The Paideia Proposal

A class of sixth graders from a North Carolina elementary school sat in a University of North Carolina hall, surrounded by principals from throughout the state who were curious about how these typical students would handle the scheduled seminar on Hamlet.

"Did you enjoy the play?" they were asked by their teacher for the day, Mortimer Adler. Then, "Did you like Hamlet?" This second question spurred a variety of answers, and the 85-year-old Adler was off and running in a Socratic session with his young students, leading them through a rigorous discussion about one of the most complex characters in Western fiction.

Adler was demonstrating his Paideia Proposal, a movement he first discussed with educators in 1979, elaborated on, and finally described in *The Paideia Proposal: An Educational Manifesto*, published in 1982.[1] Other publications followed which expanded on the theme of Adler's approach, one that redefines "the general learning that should be the possession of all human beings."

Adler believes that the ideal of American education, and democracy, itself, is only half realized. The nation generally has achieved universal education through the twelfth grade for everyone, but by providing a quality education for only a few, it is undermining democratic principles, he says. The octogenerian philosopher wants all children and youth to have the same quality of schooling. "There are no unteachable children," he says. "There are only schools and teachers and parents who fail to teach them."

Because of Adler's proselytizing and organizing, more than 50 schools are now part of the Paideia network; and a national center has been established at the University of North Carolina to coordinate training, research, and communication among the network members. Consequently, thousands of children and young people are analyzing and discussing the writings of Galileo and Aristotle, Shakespeare and Martin Luther King, Jr., Sir Isaac Newton and Herman Melville, all because their teachers and principals have adopted the Paideia Proposal's curriculum and teaching strategies, based on dialectic methods. In essence, Adler promotes higher-order thinking skills, considered so important today, for all students. The Paideia principles include:

- All children are educable.
- Therefore, they all deserve the same quality of schooling, not just the same quantity.
- The quality of schooling to which they are entitled is what the wisest parents would wish for their own children, the best education for the best being the best education for all.
- Schooling at its best is preparation for becoming generally educated in the course of a whole lifetime, and schools should be judged on how well they provide such preparation.
- The three callings for which schooling should prepare all Americans are: (a) to earn a decent livelihood, (b) to be a good citizen of the Republic, and (c) to make a good life for one's self.
- The primary cause of genuine learning is the activity of the learner's own mind, sometimes with the help of a teacher functioning as a secondary and cooperative cause.
- The three kinds of teaching that should occur in our schools are

didactic teaching of subject matter, coaching that produces the skills of learning, and Socratic questioning in seminar discussions.

- The results of these three kinds of teaching should be (a) the acquisition of organized knowledge, (b) the formation of habits of skill in the use of language and mathematics and (c) the growth of the mind's understanding of basic ideas and issues.

"The truth, hidden from too many, is that more than money and material advantages are necessary for the good life. Children should be prepared and motivated to make themselves the best human beings they are capable of becoming. If a better quality of schooling for all enables them to make a better use of their talents, their energies, their free time, it will also help to improve the quality of life for all."

Mortimer Adler
The Paideia Proposal

- Each student's achievement of these results should be measured against that student's capacity to learn, and should not be related to the achievements of other students.
- The principal of a school should be the principal teacher and educational leader of the school community.
- The principal and faculty of a school should themselves be actively engaged in learning.
- The desire to continue their own learning should be the prime motivation of those who dedicate their lives to the profession of teaching.

These latter Paideia principles, concerning the professional development of principals and teachers as learners themselves, form the heart of the Paideia movement. Training in the strategies and learning or relearning content are crucial to the success of the principles. The Paideia network relies heavily on seminars and conferences, often with Adler in a teaching role.

Dennis Gray, a member of The Paideia Associates, a small group of teachers and others who help schools adopt the Paideia program, described the experiences of a typical workshop for teachers in the January 1988 issue of *Basic Education:*

> The Paideia program empowers teachers to...discover that a rigorous conversation among equals whose equality derives from a close reading of a common text opens the mind to a kind of learning that simply cannot occur with didactic instruction, which does require expertise. Seminars give teachers themselves, not just their students, the bracing experience of genuine collaboration in the pursuit of understanding. Teachers who have undergone the Paideia training report that the benefits multiply when they return to their schools and begin to implement the Paideia program. They usually commence a series of monthly faculty seminars as a way to practice their nascent seminar-leading skills. They critique each other in these seminars, and they begin to visit each other's classes to observe seminars with students and to provide commentary and advice to their colleagues. They may try videotaping seminars in order to see themselves at work and to give students a chance to do the same. They confer about the selection of texts for use in seminars and compare notes about which texts and opening questions have proved more successful. In short, the introduction of the Paideia program, according to many teachers, takes the curse off confessing ignorance and establishes an ethos of collegiality and mutual support.

The National Paideia Center, supervised by a national advisory board and a committee of Paideia Associates, is encouraging the development of a network of Paideia teachers, providing training, and gathering evaluation data. It also plans to establish a Paideia Laboratory School in North Carolina. Acting director is Patricia Weiss, who also directs the Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center. (For information: The National Center for the Paideia Program, UNC-CH, C B# 8040, Chapel Hill, NC 27599.)

Center for Educational Renewal

Equally concerned as Adler about the differentiated schooling that has been created in this country, John Goodlad seeks to change classroom practices primarily through improving the preparation of teachers and administrators. His base is the Center for Educational Renewal, located at the College of Education at the University of Washington, which has created a network of collaborations between universities and school districts. At the end of 1988, the network consisted of 14 partnerships, involving 115 school districts and 17 colleges and universities.

"I believe that...the principle of 'every tub on its own bottom,' or nearly on its own bottom, would go a long way toward developing schools that took care of their own business, rectified chronic problems, and communicated effectively with parents–characteristics of the more satisfying schools in our sample."

John Goodlad
***A Place Called School*, 1984**

In his intensive, seven-year study of 38 schools, culminating in *A Place Called School*,[2] Goodlad found "relatively impotent, haphazard, short-term staff development activities focused on individuals and removed from school sites; little time or stimulus for site-based renewal; little evidence of attention to, and encouragement of, long-term planning at either the school or district level." Teaching in these schools ran counter to research on the need for alternatives because the practices served well "the special interests or beliefs of those most closely attached to them." In other words, there were no avenues for teachers and principals to act differently, to examine their tracking practices and their effects, to analyze the appropriateness of their curriculum and resources. "Merely adding or subtracting a few things, tightening up here and there, and patching the weak spots in the educational system will not suffice," Goodlad said in a 1986 interview.

He settled on linking schools with universities as a way for renewal because:

- Juxtaposition of the action-oriented culture of the school and the inquiry-oriented culture of the university offer promise of shaking loose "the calcified programs of both," for example, how teachers teach and how teachers are prepared to teach.
- A school-university partnership offers promise of stimulating collaborative inquiry into both the problems of the schools and the relevance of various research paradigms.

- The agendas of instructional, curricular, and organizational improvements needed in the schools and of the relevance of teacher education and research programs in schools of education appear to overlap and, thus, to satisfy the criterion of mutual self-interests characteristic of a potentially powerful partnership.

Goodlad reasons that for schools to get better, they must have better teachers. To prepare better teachers, and all professional staff, including administrators, universities must have access to schools that exhibit the best practices. Therefore, "to assure the best practices, schools must have ongoing access to alternative ideas and knowledge. For universities to have access to exemplary settings and for these settings to become and remain exemplary, the schools and the preparing institutions must develop symbiotic relationships through joining together as equal partners."

An example of the partnership in action is the Puget Sound Educational Consortium, consisting of the 13 school districts in the Seattle area and the University of Washington. With Ann Lieberman of the university faculty as executive director, the consortium is headed by a Coordinating Council of participating superintendents and the dean of the College of Education.

With teachers, supervisors, and administrators working together, the consortium, launched in 1985, decided to develop five strands in its program: excellence and equity, a leadership academy, a study of teacher leadership, an educational development center, and analysis of education support.

Through retreats that emphasized sharing and purposefully avoided "keynote speakers," the excellence and equity working group, for example, has developed definitions:

- Excellence is indicated by conditions, practices, and outcomes in schools that are associated with high levels of learning for students in all valued goal areas of the common curriculum.
- Equity is indicated when there are no systematic differences in levels of learning or in outcomes between students when they are grouped by ethnicity, gender, or economic category.

Different sub-groups working on excellence and equity--representing university faculty, administrators, and teachers--also developed a resource guide on instructional practices and curricula and a common set of indicators for excellence and equity. How is this activity restructuring schools? In Tacoma, for example, an elementary school has eliminated pullout programs. An Edmonds school is getting rid of "labels" on children by grouping them according to need rather than funding category. Bellevue is developing school-based decisionmaking with a focus on how the district can support it beyond providing test scores.

After one of the Excellence and Equity retreats, an outside conference organizer remarked, "The exciting thing about the Consortium in general and about this meeting in particular is that people recognize they can do more together than individually." The process in which the more than 80 educators in this group are involved exemplifies Goodlad's emphasis upon change occuring through "self-renewal" at the school site, rather than through mandates imposed from above.

At a week-long institute on teacher leadership, another group from the Puget Sound Educational Consortium attempted to define professionalism and how principals and associations viewed it. The 85 teachers who participated unearthed several critical issues:

- The conflict between the egalitarian ethic and the need for new and challenging roles;
- The necessity to find appropriate methods for selection and compensation of lead teachers;

Boyer's View on Restructuring

As president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Ernest Boyer frequently illuminates issues in American education. His book, *High School*, was among the handful of studies in the 1980s that focused on what was happening within classrooms, rather than on broad policies.

In an address to the Business Roundtable in Washington, D.C., in June 1989, Boyer included school-based management as one of five necessary strategies for national leadership in education (the others were an urgent call to action led by the President, a commitment to the disadvantaged, a crusade to strengthen teaching, a quality curriculum, and an effective way to monitor results).

In his comments on school-based management, Boyer said:

Thus far, over 40 states have drafted tough new regulations. But all too often these mandates focus on bureaucratic procedures rather than on the outcomes of education, forcing teachers and principals to spend more time with paperwork, and less time with their students.

State officials should set goals, provide equitable support, and hold every school accountable for its performance. Here the leadership of governors is crucial. But within this framework, principals and teachers should be given full authority to choose textbooks, shape curriculum, hire teachers, organize the school day, and have discretionary funds to introduce bold innovations.

In other words, we must create, in the nation's 83,000 schools, what industry likes to call 'circles of quality control,' with teachers and principals creatively building schools that meet high academic standards and that meet the needs of students, too.

In a recent Carnegie survey, we found that half the students in eighth grade go home after school to an empty house; 40 percent wish they could spend more time with their mothers and fathers; about a third say their family never sits down together to eat a meal. And many are often lonely.

We also found this sense of loneliness within the school itself, with teenagers often moving anonymously from class to class, lacking contact with adults, and dropping out of school because no one noticed that they had, in fact, dropped in.

Frankly, if I had just one wish for school reform, I'd break up every junior and senior high school into units of no more than 400 students each. I'd locate these schools as satellite campuses, in shopping malls, in corporate buildings, and at worksites, too. In downtown Atlanta, for example, there's a high school in Rich's Department Store, a place where several hundred students go to study, while mingling with adults.

At these satellite campuses, every student should be assigned to a small 'support group' of no more than 25 students each, meeting with a mentor at the beginning of each day to talk about problems,

review academic progress, and receive emotional support.

Above all, I'd like to see all students feel needed and have a sense of worth. In our report, *High School,* we proposed a new 'Carnegie unit' of high school credit--a community service term to help teenagers become responsibly engaged in youth clubs, in retirement villages, and in tutoring other kids at school, discovering a connection between what they learn and how they live.

I'm suggesting that, as a national strategy, every state define its goals, and then give freedom to the schools, focusing on outcomes, not procedures. Such a restructuring will breathe new life into a suffocating system.

- The difficulty of creating new professional images from within the profession; and
- The necessity of breaking hierarchical norms and replacing them with professional norms.

During the week, Lieberman observed, "people struggled. Years of experience were challenged. Routinized ways of doing business were questioned. At times, the group just plain argued! Many people commented that they had never had the opportunity to talk with colleagues about the health of their own profession."

The partnerships represent one aspect of a three-pronged, five-year program to renew professional preparation and practice through the Center for Educational Renewal. Goodlad also is conducting a study of more than 1,300 schools, colleges, and departments of education on the current condition of the education of educators. His third component is an examination of the preparation programs of other professions such as medicine and law to find out what they might offer in new ways of preparing educators.

The Center is largely supported by grants from the Exxon Foundation and the Danforth Foundation. (For information: Center for Educational Renewal, Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.)

The Coalition of Essential Schools

"Less is more" doesn't sound like a sufficient enough phrase to start a major education restructuring movement. Yet, it is at the base of the philosophy that created the Coalition of Essential Schools, a network that at the end of 1988 consisted of more than 50 schools in the United States and one Canadian province. In cooperation with the Education Commission of the States, the Coalition is working with local and state policymakers to blend policies and Coalition restructuring efforts within individual schools. (See Chapter VI.)

Theodore Sizer, former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and presently at Brown University, studied 50 schools and the people affected by them--teachers, principals, students, parents and school board members--for his book ***Horace's Compromise,*** published in 1984.[3] It was subtitled "The Dilemma of the American High School," referring to the "deals" that teachers and students in the typical high school make to avoid hassling each other in order to keep schools quiet but unchallenging places. Two further books from his study, under the auspices of the public-and private-school-sponsored Commission on Educational Issues, expanded on this theme--*The Shopping Mall High School*[4] and *The Last Little Citadel.*[5]

From these writings came a set of principles about what secondary schools should be doing, the principles that Coalition schools support:

- An intellectual focus in all courses for all students, emphasizing higher-order thinking skills, and taught with rigor and imagination.
- Simple goals, with each student expected to master a limited number of essential skills and areas of knowledge. It is better to understand a few things well, says Sizer, than to have a superficial knowledge of many things.
- Universal goals, with no separate tracks for the college-bound, comprehensive or vocational students.
- Personalization, with teachers and principals totally responsible for what the school offers--what is studied, the use of time, the pedagogies used, and the resources selected. A teacher's class load should be no more than 80 students total. This enables teachers to know their students well and to jointly plan for the particular needs of each student.

- A metaphor of schools as student-as-worker rather than the traditional teacher as the deliverer of information. Teachers should become coaches who guide students into taking intellectual initiatives. "Just as the coach doesn't go out and perform for the player," says Grant Wiggins, formerly director of research for the Coalition, "the teacher can't perform for the student."

> "We're assuming that everybody's going to make the grade. Essential Schools group students according to what they need to learn, and they regroup frequently; they don't hammer any youngster permanently into the structure of the school, saying, 'This kid is in the General track, and that one is in the Honors track, forevermore.' Behind all of this is the assumption not only that every youngster can use his or her mind well, but that if we give up on that goal, we give up on democracy."
>
> Theodore Sizer
> *Educational Leadership*, February

- Assessment on the basis of student exhibitions that demonstrate mastery, rather than pen-and-pencil tests that measure memorization.
- A tone that stresses mutual expectations, trust, and decency. The descriptive on this point is "unanxious." It means on expectations, for example, that "I won't threaten you, but I expect much of you;" that trust is extended unless it is abused; and that "decency" in a school respects the values of fairness, generosity, and tolerance.
- Principals and teachers who are generalists first and specialists second. The curricula are integrated across disciplines as much as possible, requiring professionals to be skilled in a broad range of subjects and to be committed to a constant reeducation of themselves.
- A school budget that reflects these principles. It not only provides for a reduction of the teaching load to no more than 80 students, but also provides for substantial time for collective planning by teachers, and competitive salaries. The ultimate per-pupil cost, however, would not exceed that of traditional schools by more than 10 percent.

Sizer cautions against restructuring efforts that lose sight of the centrality of the student and student learning. He also advises that changes should start small and be given time to grow. Interviewed by Ron Brandt in the February 1988 issue of *Educational Leadership*, Sizer described the Coalition process:

> So the process starts with a group of people who have pride in their school and a conviction that they can do better. It continues quite slowly, evolving into a plan which then has to get--if it is a plan of any consequence--wide support. Then, in a big high school, it usually starts with a school-within-a-school, or it starts with a series of well-planned and carefully staged changes in the overall school.

(For more information: Coalition of Essential Schools, Box 1938, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.)

An Educational Odyssey

Bronxville High School is a charter member of the Coalition of Essential Schools. Thus, it worked out the principles of the Coalition through trial and error and slowly. This description of the process by Sherry King, assistant to the principal, appeared in the February 1988 *Educational Leadership*.

When the ninth graders in our interdisciplinary elective no longer saw their teachers as teachers of discrete subjects, we knew we were on the way to success. On a given assignment they might seek help from the English teacher as readily as from the social studies teacher--or from the art teacher, for that matter.

Key principles of the Coalition of Essential Schools, of which we are a partner school, are driving forces in our evolving program: personalization, the student-as-worker, exhibition, and the concept of 'less is more.' Three teachers--Joanne Duffy in social studies, Mary Schenck in English, and Linda Passman in art--are assigned to one course; art is as much a part of the content as English and social studies. We attempt to integrate the disciplines, attending to the basic skills and knowledge each requires as well as to connections among the three.

We piloted the interdisciplinary program in 1986-87 with one heterogeneous class that we scheduled for double periods several times during our eight-day cycle. The content was the same as the regular curriculum, The Ancient World through 1715, but the third teacher and the possibility for different blocks of time allowed us to alter our focus. Perhaps the best way to capture the essence of our program is to describe one of the units.

We began with a study of the ancient world. Students were reading *The Odyssey*, a 9th grade required text, and studying Greek culture, with a focus on the norms of society, including notions of hospitality and the value of arts and entertainment. At the same time, students were learning about folios, scrolls, and illustrated manuscripts. Moving deeper into the unit, the teachers struggled to find a creative way for students to exhibit their understanding of the period.

The teachers decided to have students create an additional chapter of *The Odyssey*--not a unique assignment, but other dimensions of the project enhanced it. They had a storyteller come to class as Odysseus and tell his adventures. While the students were working on their own stories, the storyteller, knowledgeable about both the assignment and *The Odyssey*, responded to their drafts by challenging students to try their characters in new situations. He offered provocative responses from his point of view as Odysseus. The final assignment, or exhibition, was to prepare a folio, a scroll, or an illustrated manuscript with their stories. We invited the visiting bard back to join us for a classic banquet, with oral presentations of the stories as its entertainment.

Our approach has produced problems along with successes. Our most prominent hurdle is time--time to plan, time to cover the content, time to be with students. We also struggle with the knowledge that not all students are in this program. Thus we are torn between our desire to encourage divergent thinking, our need for the time required to help students make connections, and our commitment to cover The Ancient World through 1715. We struggle, too, with grading policies: How can we promote collaborative learning and still evaluate individuals fairly; how can we ask students to take risks and then have to evaluate them?

Despite these possibly unanswerable problems, we would find it hard to teach any other way. We have seen students learn to read, think, and generalize in ways that go far beyond their peers of similar abilities. We have seen students willing, even eager, to investigate subjects independently and in depth. Our students have maintained high individual standards but have developed a sense of caring for each other as they help one another learn.

We have grown along with our students, becoming facilitators of learning more than disseminators of information. Our daily conversation and collaboration have broken the isolation of teaching. We are piloting a similar class in tenth grade, and expanding our ninth grade program. In our enthusiasm to increase connections among disciplines, we must remember not simply to add content, but to heed our own belief that 'less is more.'

A Nation Prepared. The report of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy on teaching, *A Nation Prepared,* caused great defensiveness among school administrators because of a one-line suggestion that schools could be run by a committee of teachers instead of principals. That suggestion detracted from more salient arguments of the report, which has become the base for a major overhaul of the content of teacher preparation and led to the establishment of a center at Rochester, New York, to stimulate restructuring of education.

The report's most important achievement was its steering of reform efforts toward the issue of teacher quality. Although some state reforms had centered on improving teaching through such initiatives as career ladders and merit pay, *A Nation Prepared* established teacher quality as a priority. The Carnegie Forum's Task Force on Teaching as a Profession would not claim credit for all the activity which has ensued around the issue of teacher quality, but its ideas provide constant reference points. (Concurrently, however, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, headed by Boyer, has focused on policymaking for education reform, providing considerable data on the working conditions of teachers as an impetus for change.)

The Carnegie Corp. itself, which supported the Forum, funded the work of Lee Shulman at Stanford University and developed the foundation for a National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, an initiative that has the potential to influence greatly the training and retraining of teachers. A number of research-based campuses are rethinking their teacher preparation programs, and some have moved to eliminate undergraduate specialization.

Further, the phrase underlying reforms in the latter part of the 1980's decade, "teacher empowerment," embodies much of the substance of *A Nation Prepared*. In addition to the national board, this report called for:

- Restructuring schools to provide professional environments for teaching, freeing teachers to decide how best to meet state and local goals for children while holding them accountable for student progress.
- Restructuring the teaching force, with a new category of "lead teachers" who become actively involved in redesigning schools and helping their colleagues uphold high standards of learning and teaching.
- Requiring a bachelors degree in the arts and sciences as a prerequisite for the professional study of teaching.
- Developing a new professional curriculum in graduate schools of education leading to a Masters in Teaching degree.
- Mobilizing the nation's resources to prepare minority youngsters for teaching careers.
- Relating incentives for teachers to schoolwide student performance and providing schools with the technology, services, and staff essential to teacher productivity.
- Making teachers' salaries and career opportunities competitive with those in other professions.

A few months after the release of the report in June 1986, one school system, Rochester, stepped forward and negotiated plans to institute many of the changes proposed. Teachers in the Rochester system who accept greater responsibilities and leadership roles can make up to $70,000 under the contract conditions. Further, Marc Tucker, executive director of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, agreed to establish a National Center on Education and the Economy at Rochester, also substantially funded by the Carnegie Corporation, to work on three reform goals:

How Rochester Negotiated Change

The two most important actors in the decisions within the Rochester school system were the superintendent, Peter McWalters, and the president of the Rochester Teachers Union, Adam Urbanski. How and what they negotiated were succinctly described in a *U.S. News and World Report* feature on the Rochester plan on Jan. 18, 1988.

As a starting point in their discussions, McWalters and Urbanski focused on Carnegie's report on teaching. But the report failed to deal with McWalter's chief concern. Better student performance. 'Why should I improve the lot of teachers if you can't guarantee me better results?' he asked Urbanski. To McWalters, that meant holding teachers accountable for student achievement, a notion alien to most union leaders. The superintendent wanted teachers to become more closely involved in students' lives. Meanwhile, he would gain more control over the assignment of teachers to remedy the old problem of inexperienced teachers facing the toughest students. The plan included the right to dismiss weak teachers if peer mentoring and other intervention didn't work.

It was a tall order for any union head, but Urbanski didn't flinch, in part because he saw a chance to trade for things his teachers wanted. Chief among them were more money, a professional career path and a real role in deciding what and how to teach.

Negotiations between the two men went on for several months at several sites, including the restaurant below Urbanski's office. Finally, after an all-night session last August, they shook hands on a contract that McWalters calls 'the soul of this whole experiment.' The school district agreed to raise teacher pay an average of 40 percent over three years, including a $4,500 increase for all teachers in the first year. Pay for first-year teachers is rising 52 percent, from

$18,993 a year ago to $28,935 in 1989-90. In the third year, a veteran teacher in the new category of 'lead teacher' can earn as much as $70,000. Increases in state and county aid made the pay hikes possible.

The pact also has the teachers working longer hours and extra days. In exchange, they give up the automatic pay increments for years of experience and extra education. And they agree to waive seniority rights when transferring from school to school. That means, in theory at least, that school-based planning committees, made up of teachers and administrators, will decide transfers on suitability as well as seniority. McWalters hopes this will help cull deadwood. 'There are a lot of people who are just putting their time in and who want to get into a school where they can get by with less work,' he says. Making teachers accountable for their work is an idea that Rochester's leaders feel is long overdue. Says David Kearns, the chairman of Xerox, 'Teaching is the only profession I know of that, if you do well, nothing good happens to you, and if you do poorly, nothing bad happens to you.'

The contract also makes universal an existing program called home-base guidance, in which one teacher becomes the mentor for a group of 20 students. McWalters calls the program, which is working well in a few schools, 'a keen sense of the obvious.' He adds, 'I never want to hear of a kid who is doing well and then gradually starts falling through the cracks and nobody knows it.'

- A relook at the federal role in education.
- Strategies to link education and the economy in New York state through restructured school and job training systems.
- Support and expansion of the redesign of the Rochester school system along the lines described in *A Nation Prepared*.

(For information: National Center on Education and the Economy, 39 State St., Suite 500, Rochester, NY 14614.)

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Leadership among

teachers may differ in

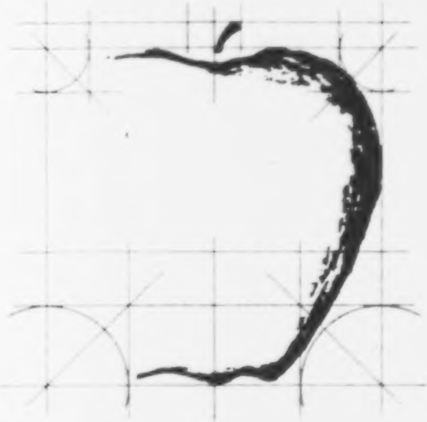
style and degree of impatience,

but it is supporting and fashioning

ways to bring about greater teacher

decisionmaking within schools and classrooms....

CHAPTER IV



THE VOICES OF TEACHERS

What do teachers think about "waves of reform," empowerment, and school restructuring in general?

To some extent, that depends upon how close they are to restructuring efforts.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, through several surveys over time, has taken the pulse of the teaching profession during the reform mood of the 1980s. According to these surveys, teachers are ambivalent about all the stir over education. They acknowledge an increase in core courses required of students and improved student achievement in basic subjects. A majority believe prekindergarten programs and those for disadvantaged children are better.

However, they are still waiting for the changes that would transform their working conditions into the places envisioned by the philosophers of the restructuring movement. Said a Carnegie Foundation report, ***Report Card on School Reform: The Teachers Speak***, in May 1988[1]:

- Only one-fifth of the teachers said their class sizes had decreased; one-third reported an increase. Only 21 percent reported more freedom from non-instructional duties.
- Only 16 percent said they had more time for preparation and planning; 25 percent had less private space available to them for study than five years ago.
- Three-fifths of the teachers reported greater state regulation, and more than one-half said their paperwork burdens were heavier than five years ago.

Another survey, released in September 1988, revealed little teacher involvement in significant decisions at the school building level. ***Teacher Involvement in Decisionmaking: A State-by-State Profile***[2] says that, while most teachers help choose textbooks and shape curriculum, the majority "do not help select teachers and administrators (only about 10 percent) at their schools, nor are they asked to participate in such crucial matters as teacher evaluation, staff development, budget, student placement, promotion and retention policies, and standards of student conduct."

After five years of steady reforms, Carnegie Foundation President Ernest Boyer concluded that the teaching profession in America is still deeply troubled. "While new regulations have been imposed on schools," he said, "the heart of the enterprise--the teachers--have been largely overlooked. Salaries have gone up, but working conditions have gotten worse."

RAND researchers Linda Darling-Hammond and Barnett Berry reached similar conclusions in their report on *The Evolution of Teacher Policy*.[3] The reforms early in this decade reflect the view of teachers "as semi-skilled workers who simply implement standards hierarchically imposed," they write. Further, "working conditions for teachers--which complement and compensate for salary differentials--must also improve if sufficient attractions to teaching are to be sustained."

Another researcher, Richard Elmore of Michigan State University, explains further what went wrong with early reforms with regard to teachers. Instructional effectiveness, he says, is best encouraged not by finding out 'what works' and telling people in schools how to do it, "but by creating schools in which teachers and students are expected as a condition of their work to take responsibility for their learning and to act on their knowledge."

"We have an obligation to raise standards in the interests of improvement and reform, but we must avoid the creation of rigid orthodoxies. We must achieve standards without standardization. We must be careful that the knowledge-base approach does not produce an overly technical image of teaching, a scientific enterprise that has lost its soul. The serious problems in medicine and other health professions arise when doctors treat the disease rather than the person, or when the professional or personal needs of the practitioner are permitted to take precedence over the responsibilities to those being served."

Lee Shulman,
Stanford University
Harvard Educational Review, February 1987

However, recent attempts at education reform, he says, have failed to create these conditions. "These reforms, while well-intentioned, have increasingly removed responsibility for learning from the place where it has to reside if instruction is to be effective--with students and teachers--and increasingly placed this responsibility in the hands of third parties--administrators, educational experts, and policymakers." These reforms, according to Elmore, go back 20 or more years. The reforms that are needed, "if they are to improve the effectiveness of schools, will have to reverse this erosion of responsibility."

Apparently, at this point in the process, there is a dichotomy between the experience of those participating in restructuring efforts and the situation of the average teacher and principal. Undoubtedly, networks of 50 or 100 schools "don't a revolution make." So far, restructuring has affected very few in the teaching profession. In fact, Gene Maeroff, author of *The Empowerment of Teachers: Overcoming the Crisis of Confidence*,[4] flatly says that "school systems cannot be counted on to initiate programs aimed at empowering teachers"--not because they are "evil entities," but because they work under various constraints. Consequently, many of the successful projects to give teachers meaningful authority and encourage them to work collegially depend on outside funding and influence, such as national or local foundations, he says.

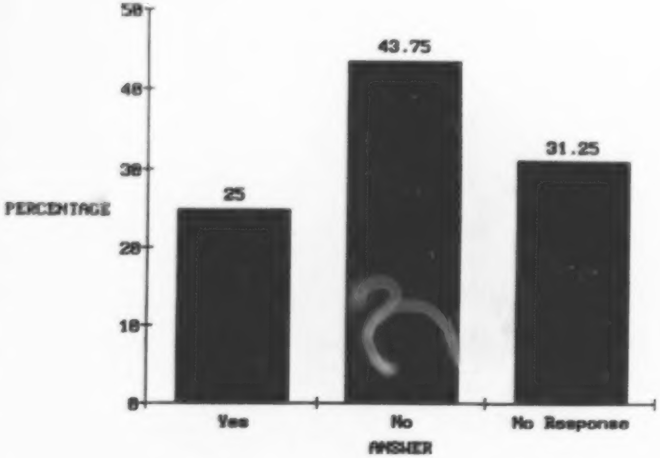
But the weight of research, the lessons learned by teachers who are participating in restructuring their profession, the trends in teacher preparation, and the leadership of the teachers' unions--especially the American Federation of Teachers--indicate that a new view of the profession of teaching is being shaped.

The Views of Experienced Teachers

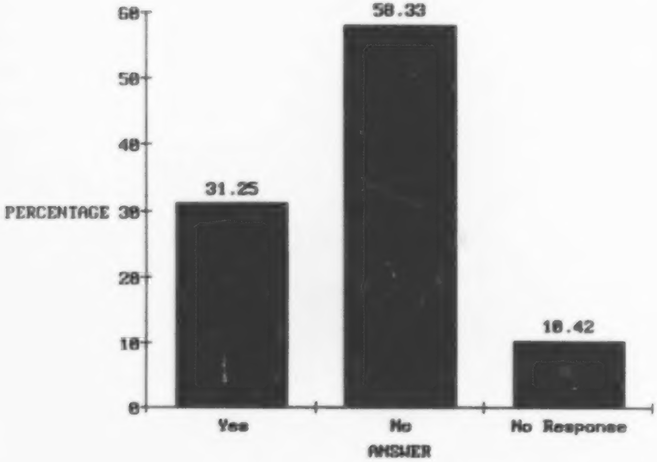
Experienced teachers are comfortable with the form that is evolving, according to a survey for this report by AASA. The 1988 state Teachers of the Year were asked the same questions as were superintendents and other administrators about the various proposals under the rubric of restructuring (see Chapter I). Generally, they strongly support the trends.

The following charts reflect actual responses from the survey.

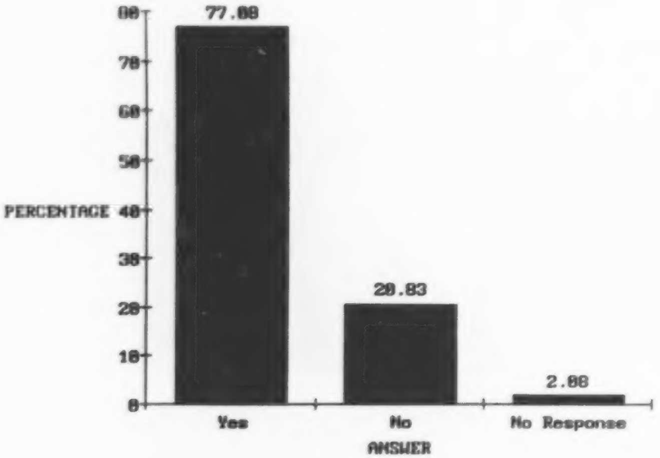
Reorganizing District Structure/Governance



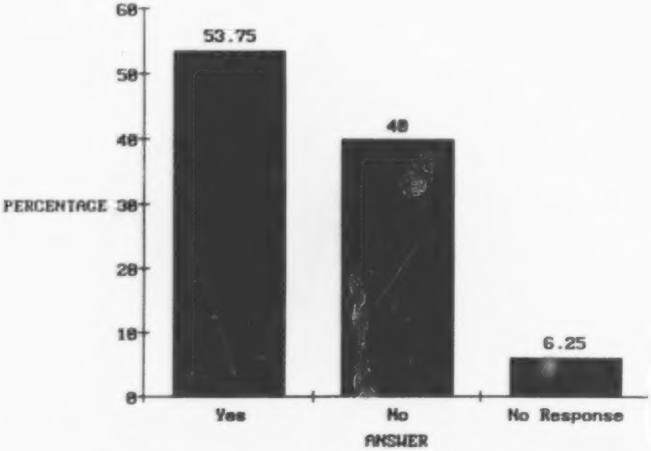
Requiring More Accountability from Teachers



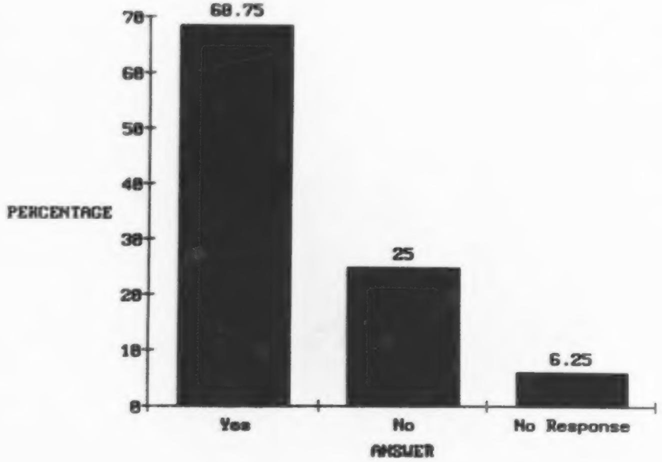
Providing More Individualized Instruction to Students



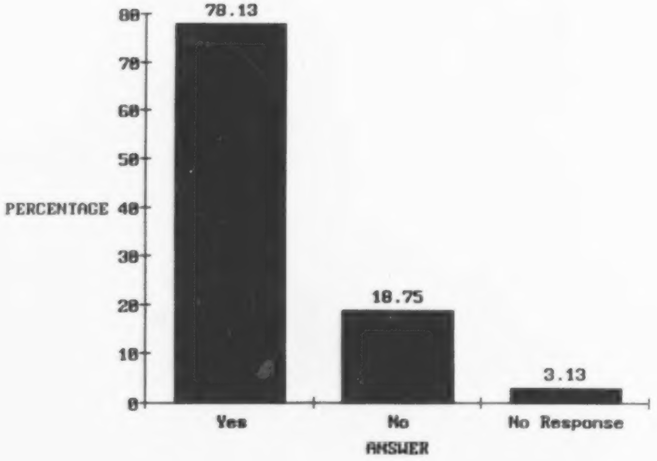
Reorganizing Faculty Practices
(e.g. Differentiated Staffing, Flexible Scheduling)



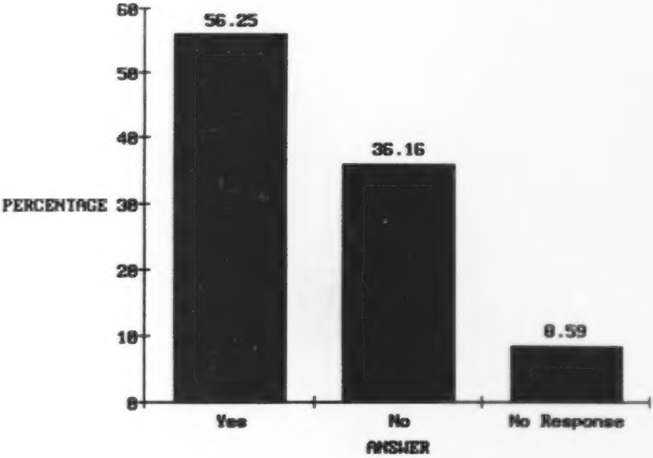
Establishing Restructuring Experiments



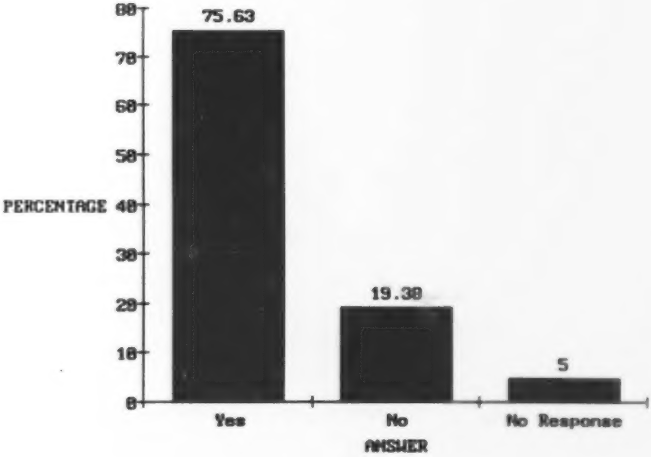
Restructuring of Teaching Methods
(e.g. Cooperative Learning)



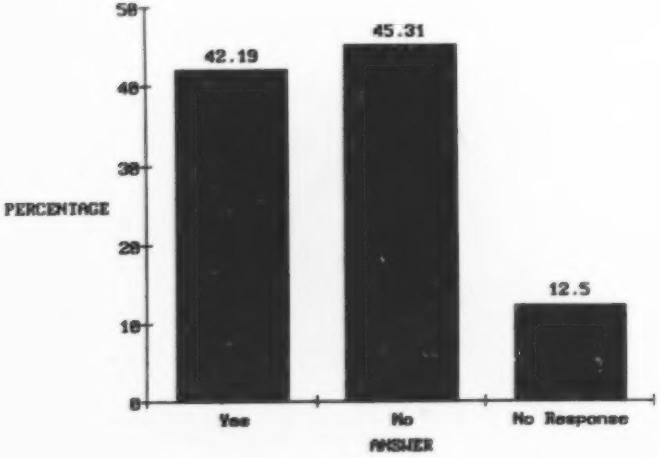
Restructuring of Curriculum



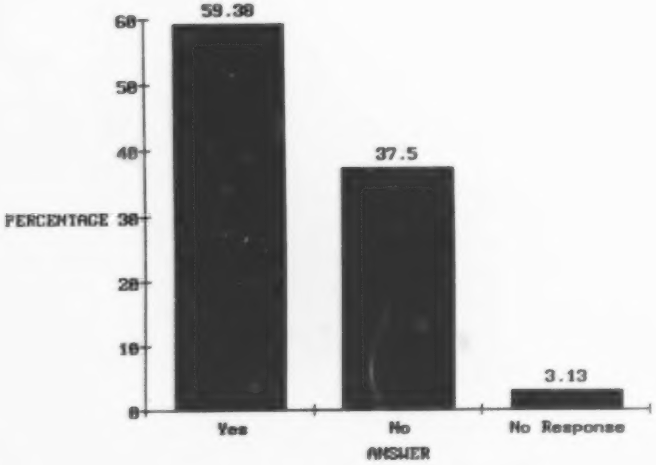
Giving Greater Authority to the School



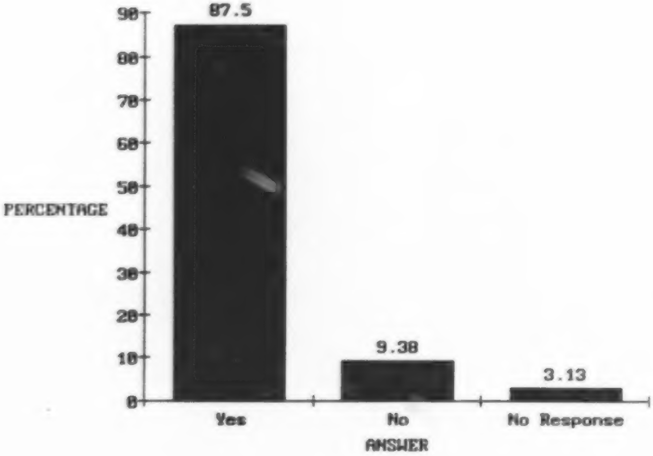
Giving Greater Authority to Teachers



Improving Teacher Education



Providing More Support for Teachers
(e.g. Increasing Salaries, Reducing Teaching Loads)



Answers to Regulation

Arthur Wise, director of RAND's Center for the Study of the Teaching Profession, warns consistently about the dangers of over-regulation in education. The legislated changes of the 1980s, he says, represent reforms gone awry. He believes that far more structural and important changes would be to:

- Reserve professional education training for the graduate level, following an undergraduate liberal arts program.
- Provide a practical internship, under the direction of mentors, following formal training.
- Base teacher licensure on demonstrated competency in the classroom.
- Empower the teaching profession to establish and enforce teaching standards.
- Match qualifications of teacher applicants with the position they are to fill.
- Provide professional development opportunities that help teachers improve.
- Share professional and other teaching-related decisionmaking with teachers.
- Improve teaching conditions by providing time to teach, removing non-instructional duties, and creating professional work environments.
- Provide salaries commensurate with other professions.

The Unions and Restructuring

Another RAND study, *Teacher Unions and Educational Reform,* contends that the two major teachers' unions have not stood in the way of reform and restructuring efforts, as some public officials charge, but their approaches to the issue certainly have been different.

"While the AFT quickly moved toward a position of leadership in shaping new approaches to teacher professionalism," according to the authors, Lorraine McDonnell and Anthony Pascal, "the NEA shifted from initial opposition to some reform proposals, on to accommodation and, finally, to a position where it now supports and encourages local affiliates to experiment with new approaches...."

Just as the "philosophers" of the restructuring movement spurred creation of networks to advance their ideas, both the NEA and the AFT have launched networks of schools and districts willing to try out their approaches. The two unions agree on pushing for higher salaries and for teacher control over essential elements of education, such as standards for those in the profession. However, NEA's approach to restructuring tends to be cautious and more dependent on research, while AFT seems more closely tied into national, non-educational leadership and trends.

For example, although both unions support the establishment of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, the NEA, at the same time, endorses autonomous state standards boards. AFT President Albert Shanker, however, has obliquely criticized NEA leadership for a less-than-wholehearted support of the national board. AFT's efforts in a few bellwether and well-publicized districts, indeed, made it possible to put into effect many of the elements proposed in *A Nation Prepared*, which also recommended the standards board.

The NEA Response to Restructuring. Mary Hatwood Futrell, under whose presidency many of the NEA reform strategies began, hails the demise of the "2x 4x 6 classroom." By this, NEA's immediate past president means the two covers of the textbook, the four walls of the classroom, and the six periods of the day. These dimensions, she says, "are symptomatic of ...an educational mindset that resists change, that says because things have happily, or unhappily, proceeded along certain lines for 'x' number of years, we should let them continue to do so--even at the cost of progress, even if change means improvement...and even if the failure to change threatens to turn both our teachers and students into educational zombies."

NEA's efforts at change revolve around several different types of networks.

The Mastery in Learning Project is a school-based improvement effort focused on teaching, learning, and the curriculum. In the 27 cooperating schools, which are demographically representative of the country, teachers work collaboratively to redesign their programs. These schools receive special funding, a bank of substitute days, a site-based consultant, support from regional educational laboratories, and help from the Project's office at the NEA headquarters.

"We are willing to take risks. But we are willing to do it on our own terms, using sound educational research, our own knowledge, our own experience, and work it out. We realize we may stumble and sometimes fail, but we don't want wholesale failure like we have had in the past."

Mary Hatwood Futrell
***Education Week*, November 1987**

The four assumptions underlying the efforts of the schools include:

- A school's curriculum must have content integrity and social significance. Going beyond the minimums, the curriculum should empower learners now and for the rest of their lives.
- A school community must hold high expectations for its students. Achievement is closely related to how parents, teachers, and other adults perceive a student's abilities.
- The central priorities of schools--learning, teaching, curriculum--must guide all other educational decisions. Determinations about instructional materials, faculty deployment, course organization, and student schedules should follow--not determine--basic decisions about learning.
- Every decision about learning and instruction that can be made by a local school faculty must be made by that faculty. Teachers know what individual students need to succeed better than any decisionmakers.

While these assumptions guide the efforts of the Project, each school developed its own plan through a similar process: creation of a school profile; a faculty inventory that established priorities; exploration of school improvement options provided by the Project's database; and agreement on a plan that sets high, relevant standards for students. The purpose, says Project director Robert McClure, is not only to help the faculty and students in the individual schools, but also to show education policymakers the benefits of investing more authority in teachers over teaching, learning, and the curriculum.

Another network, Operation Rescue, consists of grants to nine NEA affiliates that have developed and implemented locally oriented dropout prevention programs. The efforts link teachers to communities, including businesses, social service agencies, and local officials, to collaborate on programs aimed at keeping students in school. The National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, an NEA nonprofit group, administers the program, which makes grants of $5,000 to $25,000 for the local projects. Through 1988, the foundation had awarded more than $500,000 to local affiliates under Operation Rescue.

The Team Approach to Better Schools, or TABS, supports projects that begin, as have many of those in the Coalition of Essential Schools, as a small unit within a school, gradually expanding to other teams within the school and then to feeder schools. NEA primarily provides start-up funds and technical help; the TABS programs focus on developing school-based, shared decisionmaking. The network includes about 70 schools in 17 school districts.

In July 1988, the NEA announced a new network of at least one school district in each state willing to serve as a "learning laboratory" for innovation in curriculum and teaching. Futrell estimated it will take five years to have the network in place nationwide, "but we've had enough of the political quick fixes to last a lifetime. This time, we would like to do it right."

The laboratory school districts, with the backing of the whole school community, are to implement improvements in curricula, teaching strategies, cooperative decisionmaking, and collaborations with colleges and universities--based on research. The project school districts also will be expected to provide the time and resources for planning and training.

NEA'S MESSAGE TO SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Mary Hatwood Futrell, immediate past president

We believe the time is particularly right for teachers and school administrators to strengthen the bonds that unite us in common cause. And we believe the basis for our partnership can be our common mission: the provision of quality education for all of America's children.

NEA is pleased to see the American Association of School Administrators responding to the call for reforming and restructuring the nation's schools. We all want this reform and restructuring to succeed. But if current efforts are to produce lasting, positive change--and not fade away like the reforms of the 1960s--teachers must be actively involved at the very heart of the reform movement.

The time has come for all of us to remove our blinders and take a hard look at the many basic school structures that we've taken for granted for so long. Let's reexamine and question age grouping, tracking, labeling, grading, lockstep 'teacher-proof' curriculums, school bells--all the remnants of the industrial assembly line model of education. Indeed, anything in schools that gets in the way of teaching and learning must be questioned and reevaluated--with teachers playing a key role in the reevaluation process.

As shared decisionmaking becomes the norm, we hope administrators, far from feeling threatened, will welcome the collegial decisionmaking process. We hope that administrators will reject top-down reforms and centralized planning and help teachers move to a more democratic system that is organized to meet the changing educational needs of students.

We see a day when teacher opinions seriously help shape decisions about what to teach, how to teach it, what texts to use, what other teachers are hired, and how students are tested.

In the meantime, there are many concrete steps that school administrators can take to upgrade the conditions of teaching and learning. For example, administrators can:

- Ensure that teachers have the resources they need to perform effectively (including time, space, materials, technical assistance, and opportunities for consultation with their peers).
- Clarify goals, expectations, and responsibilities of all school staff.

- Increase the frequency of interaction between teachers and building-level administrators by encouraging principals to be visible and available to faculty and students.
- Seek teacher advice on policies and practices that will create a more professional workplace.

Taking these steps will go a long way toward building a school climate where all involved--administrators, teachers, and students--can learn and grow together.

AFT Responds to Restructuring

Since the release of *A Nation Prepared,* Albert Shanker (who was a member of the task force, along with Mary Hatwood Futrell of the NEA) has preached about restructuring schools in weekly "sermons" appearing in the Sunday *New York Times.* Shanker has declared that AFT is "willing to talk," willing to negotiate and to discuss changes in schools. Basically, schools were not doing a very good job at the time all of the reports began to emerge, he believes, and the reforms which raised standards and requirements were needed.

But Shanker's view also is that the earlier reforms "bypassed 80 percent of the students in the country," that they were good for those 20 percent able to learn in a traditional system but bad medicine for the remaining students. The second wave of reform, called restructuring by others, "is a radical and tiny movement" of the networks formed by the Coalition of Essential Schools, John Goodlad, the Center for Education and the Economy, and a handful of other school districts where AFT units used the bargaining process to promote radically different structures. These include Toledo, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Hammond, Ind., and some schools in New York City (see Chapter VIII). These efforts, says Shanker, are redesigning education to respond to the learning needs of students, recognizing that children and young people learn at different rates and in different ways.

Aware that such restructuring moves represent scattered efforts that might not result in the development of a critical mass of changes for schools, the AFT is encouraging each of its 1,000 local units to develop proposals for schools-within-schools initiated by teachers. Approved at the same time as NEA was adopting its plan for a single laboratory school in each state, the AFT strategy represents a mobilization behind a single idea for school reform. Under the plan, union locals will bargain with school districts to provide support for any group of six or more teachers applying to establish "charter schools." This phrase, also in a proposal by Ray Budde of the Regional Laboratory for Educational Improvement of the Northeast and Islands, means that school administrators, school boards, and unions could charter teams of teachers and others to establish autonomous public schools within their buildings.

"Suppose you went to a doctor and the doctor prescribed a certain medicine for you. After a few days on the medicine not only didn't it work, but it also made certain other things happen--you broke out in various ways, it actually provoked certain reactions. You go back to the doctor and say, 'Doc, this pill not only didn't help me, but look at these other bad things it's done to me.' If the doctor were our school system, he would look at you as the patient and say, 'You've got a hell of a lot of nerve not responding to my pill. What's wrong with you?' "

Albert Shanker, AFT President
National Press Club speech, March 1988

The criteria established by the AFT include:

- No adverse impact on teachers or students not involved in restructuring.
- Participating students representative in background and achievement of district enrollment, with their civil rights protected.
- Participative management and governance required.
- Exposure of all students to higher-order knowledge and holding of students to high standards while acknowledging they learn in different ways.
- Students actively involved in learning rather than passive recipients of information; use of multiple instructional strategies and technologies.

- Use of new methods of evaluation that require students to demonstrate mastery and that replace standardized testing.
- Approval of plans by both the union and the school board.
- Voluntary participation of teachers, students, and parents.
- Sanction of the school-within-a-school project by all teachers in the building and the principal; not all would be required to participate, however.
- A time period of a minimum of five years, preferably 10 years, for the restructuring to be planned, implemented, and evaluated.

AFT also established in 1988 a Center for Restructuring that will provide technical assistance to the school-within-a-school movement. The Center, in its first few months, launched other efforts related to the concerns of the AFT. With the Education Technology Center at Harvard University, it is working on an analysis of student assessments and alternatives. With urban school superintendents, school board members, and union leaders where "participatory leadership" of schools is underway, the AFT Center has formed the Urban District Leadership Consortium. The 19 cities represented in the consortium, collectively, enroll more than 4 million elementary and secondary students. Shanker also has proposed federal funding of considerable financial incentives to groups of teachers which may make dramatic improvements in student learning over a period of five years. His incentives for students would be for employers to give much greater weight to performance recorded in high school transcripts (July 1989).

The network represents a "first" in many ways because it enlists a broad range of local leadership in the restructuring effort.

AFT'S MESSAGE TO SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Albert Shanker, president

In a recent article in the *New York Times* (July 20, 1988), education writer Fred Hechinger told about a deputy New York City school chancellor who once asked a group of respected principals about the secret of their success. The answer was

unanimous. They all claimed that to make their schools work they had to 'beat the system'--legally or extra-legally.

The anecdote is instructive. Most educators continually face a conflict between trying to make the system work and meeting what they know are the real needs of their students. For example, we talk about the fact that children learn at different rates and about the need for individualized instruction. Yet, we perpetuate a system that forces teachers and principals to 'batch process' students who, for the most part, are expected to passively absorb knowledge and repeat it on demand. The overwhelming evidence--including several broad surveys of the National Assessment of Educational Progress--makes it clear that, though we're doing well with a small minority of our students, the system is handily beating the rest. Small wonder, when we're still locked into a system that was developed when the expectation was that up to 75 percent of the students would drop out before they finished high school.

But the economic and social facts of life demand that we educate vast numbers of youngsters once bypassed by our schools. To accomplish this, educators need to stop trying to think of new ways to fine-tune the ***status quo***--to inch up test scores by a few points here and there or to move youngsters more efficiently through the diploma mill. Our schools now are more tooled to process students than to educate them. Instead of asking how we can get the kids to graduate, we have to ask how children actually learn. We have to think about what structures and approaches will actively involve students in their own learning and that will allow teachers the flexibility to strike sparks and ignite enthusiasm.

Two essential principles of operation for administrators suggest themselves. The first is to abandon the idea that there are comprehensive answers from on high that need to be imposed on all teachers and students. The likelihood is that successful reform will be achieved on a school-by-school basis, utilizing each staff's strengths in response to local conditions. The second principle is that one of the greatest assets of any school system is the collective knowledge and experience of its teaching staff--and its untapped potential to acquire more. An effective administrator will, therefore, find ways of activating this asset.

Here's an idea that combines both principles:

1) Every superintendent (or principal), working with the local union, should ask each school's staff or a staff-elected committee to conduct an analysis of that school. (Parents also could be involved, and at the secondary level students might participate.) The staff should be given plenty of time to do it and some planning money and initial training. The central administration might provide some guidance for the kinds of questions the staff ought to ask, but please: no standard format or forms in triplicate; this should not be a paperwork exercise.

Here are only some of the long list of questions the staff might consider: How is this school organized and managed and why, and does this make sense in terms of teaching and learning? What works in this school educationally and why, and what doesn't work and why? How do we use time in the school and why do we do it that way? What are the persistent problems in this school and why? How do we assign and group students and does it work? Is this school set up according to what we know about how different students learn? What do we know about how students learn? What and how are we teaching, and what and how are students learning? How do we get from where we are to where we need or want to go? What can we do as a school and what requires the help of the larger community?

These should not be gripe sessions, though initially they will be, and that's useful. The key is to transform gripes into analyses and constructive plans for change. What comes to mind is something akin to anthropology: exhuming old habits, rules, procedures, and structures and asking, why are we doing this, what purpose does it serve, and does it further education? But the main idea is to analyze the school from the point of view of student learning, considering what it takes for students to be workers, actively engaged in and responsible for their own education--and successful.

2) Allow every school to implement their strategic plans (get central rules to be waived if it is necessary, prudent, and not harmful to others to do so.) Allow every school to break up into a number of schools if the staff so decides in order to accommodate different plans, so long as civil-rights guarantees are respected and an internal ability-grouping system is avoided.

3) Allow every school to make mistakes, learn from them, and revise its plans and activities.

4) Ask every school to set up its own ongoing evaluation system for its plan, for its use only. Revisit your own school system evaluation procedures. Be patient about getting better results, but, if after a reasonable period of time you don't see progress, be vigorous about finding out where it's lacking and why.

When the time comes that administrators and teachers can claim that it's because of the system, and not in spite of it, that schools work and children learn, then we'll know that 'reform' and 'restructuring' have moved from rhetoric to reality.

How Much Will Teachers Change?

Whether these teacher-directed initiatives to restructure the profession and schools represent isolated examples or the beginning of a significant trend will depend on how much teachers change their concepts of their own roles and that of their unions, Lorraine McDonnell and Anthony Pascal say in their study on *Teacher Unions and Educational Reform*.[6] Three conditions must be met, they contend, if these efforts are to be trend-setters:

- Reform policies cannot be substituted for traditional bread-and-butter items that regulate teachers' basic working conditions, such as the length of the teaching day and class size. In fact, they say, these items must be attained before unions can move on to questions about professional autonomy and full participation. Some policymakers have viewed such proposals as career ladders as tradeoffs, but the researchers say teachers won't buy that idea, if past experience is an indicator.

- Policymakers should accept the fact that not all teachers want to assume the new roles envisioned in an environment of greater professionalism, but they do not want to be treated as second-class citizens either. Older values of equal treatment must coexist with values of greater professionalism, at least with the current cohort of teachers.
- Policymakers and reform advocates should consider how the tradeoffs that must inevitably occur in bargaining for greater professionalism can be packaged to make them more acceptable to both local union leaders and rank-and-file members. Unions need data on the experience of those units/affiliates which have pursued actively a reform agenda.

The study by McDonnell and Pascal analyzed the content of collective bargaining contracts. It should be noted, however, that many smaller school districts' relationships with teachers are not controlled by bargaining. Further, elements of reforms and restructuring sometimes are implemented outside of bargaining contracts.

Non-Union, Non-Traditional Teacher Talk

An informal conversation in 1987 between a National Science Foundation education program officer and a Dreyfus Foundation staff member brought a bubbling movement to the surface. They compared notes and realized that apparently a number of networks for teachers sponsored by outside organizations were alive and well. Consequently, the Teacher Networks Group was organized to provide the sponsors and operators of these various networks opportunities to meet and plan together. Among the networks represented are the Mathematics Collaboratives in urban school districts sponsored by the Ford Foundation, the arts and humanities teacher groups sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, and science collaboratives funded by the National Science Foundation.

According to the Education Development Center at Newton, Massachusetts, which organizes meetings of the Teacher Networks Group, the projects are bound together by a common core of ideas: "They value teachers and teachers' knowledge about curriculum, about pedagogy, and about students and learning. Central to many of these projects is the belief that teachers should have a stronger voice in decisions about what gets taught and how it gets taught, and about the allocation of resources for teaching and learning. Common to all is the assumption that teachers will play a significant and active role in any improvement that takes place in education."

An example of how these ideas are expressed is the Ford Foundation's support of the Urban Mathematics Collaboratives. *And Gladly Teach...*,[7] a report from the foundation, notes that the collaboratives address many of the problems mentioned in various studies of education "in a spirit of inquiry, viewing teachers and schools as important sources of insight into what the professional life of teachers should look like and what they need to do their job well." Issues which the teachers and administrators in the collaboratives have sought to understand and work out include teacher responsibility and accountability, teacher isolation, and institutional divisiveness.

Believing that teachers should be the agents of educational reform, the Rockefeller Foundation supports annually about a dozen Collaboratives for Humanities and Arts Teaching (CHART). The CHART network depends on collaboration beyond the school--to businesses, higher education, cultural agencies, and other community groups. For example, the International Education Consortium in St. Louis helps teachers improve the presentation of international issues throughout the curricula. The Rural Education Alliance for Collaborative Humanities in South Carolina links teachers in isolated areas with college and university resources through computers and personal contacts. Teachers in the Pittsburgh schools, through that city's CHART program, are learning how to assess student progress in music, visual arts, and imaginative writing.

After five years of experience with CHART, the Rockefeller Foundation summed up its principal observations from the program's attempt to place teachers at the center of change:

- ***Teachers must play a major role*** in all aspects of any program that is to have an impact on teaching and learning. "Programs conceived and planned by others and then handed down to teachers ignore insights that teachers can offer about the realities of life in the classroom," says a foundation report, "Helping Schools Work." CHART also involves school administrators and local teachers' unions.

- ***A team approach to teacher renewal*** overcomes isolation and builds networks that can sustain teachers and improve teaching. CHART has encouraged interdisciplinary teaching; sponsored retreats and workshops, lasting from several days to several weeks; and put teachers in contact with people from business, higher education, and cultural institutions.
- ***Recognition is essential*** in helping teachers feel better about what they do and getting them to reach their highest levels of performance. With just small grants, says the foundation, a "great amount of new activity can be stimulated" among teachers. Even the small extras--refreshments and honorariums--"are unusual and appreciated benefits" to people so accustomed to the absence of perquisites.
- ***Rich and challenging intellectual content*** has been missing from many programs of self-renewal for teachers, and when it is offered, teachers respond with enthusiasm. Teachers acquire knowledge they passed over in college or are introduced to contemporary thinkers and writers through CHART.
- ***Outside agencies can often be more effective than school systems*** in generating imaginative programs of teacher renewal and in winning the allegiance of teachers. Outside agencies, says the report, "can slice through red tape and work on behalf of teachers" while still remaining partners with the school system.

On the last point, *And Gladly Teach...* notes that many teachers are frustrated by the seeming unresponsiveness of the system to their needs. Administrators, on the other hand, believe teachers are not sensitive to the constraints on their decisionmaking. The collaboratives, says the Ford report, "create an environment for healing bruised relationships. There is time for teachers to begin to trust their school systems and to work to improve them. These developments owe much to the vision of school principals, mathematics supervisors, and school superintendents who have recognized that actively involving teachers in their own professional development is highly beneficial to teaching and learning."

Focus on Teacher Training

Schools cannot be restructured unless training for the profession also undergoes radical changes. Concurrently with the move toward schools as the basic unit of reform, much activity is taking place among teacher training institutions in the way of the certification and licensing of teachers.

At least four of the major reports on education reform since the early 1980s concern teacher education. Edith Guyton and George Antonelli summarize, in an article for the *Journal of Teacher Education* (May-June 1987), common recommendations in these reports:

- Raise standards for admission to teacher education and the teaching profession.
- Move professional education of teachers to the post-baccalaureate level.
- Revise the teacher education curriculum, particularly to incorporate research findings.
- Make efforts to enhance the prestige of and respect for teachers and the teaching profession.
- Engage Arts and Sciences faculty in the teacher education program.

Guyton's and Antonelli's survey of teacher training institutions found interest and some activity on all of the recommendations--except that of eliminating the undergraduate degree. Only large, research-based campuses have supported that idea.

Another study mentioned earlier, "The Evolution of Teacher Policy," by Linda Darling-Hammond and Barnett Berry for the RAND Corporation, details initiatives taken since 1979 to revitalize the teaching profession. They consider these steps as having a limited vision of the role of teachers:

- Stiffer entrance requirements for teacher-preparation programs, including tests and minimum grade-point averages (27 states).

- Mandated competency tests in basic skills, subject matter, or professional knowledge for a license (41 states), although some testing programs have been delayed because of a lack of funding or test development.
- Programs to supervise beginning teachers (25 states).
- Minimum compensation levels (30 states), and/or statewide salary schedules (19 states).

However, the most significant development in aligning teacher preparation to restructuring efforts resulted, again, from the Carnegie Corporation report, ***A Nation Prepared***. With foundation funding, a major recommendation of the report, the establishment of a National Board for Professional Teaching Standards is well underway.

Launched in May 1987, the National Board's aim is to set higher and more rigorous standards for what teachers should know and be able to do, similar to professional screening that takes place in architecture and medicine. The Board will issue certificates to those who meet the standards and eventually hopes to be funded by fees paid by teachers who want to be nationally certified. Meanwhile, its base is a $1 million annual grant for five years from the Carnegie Corporation for start-up activities.

The Board's current four major tasks include:

- Establishing national standards for certification that good teachers should emulate and excellent teachers should exemplify.
- Developing assessment measures based upon sound research and fair judgment.
- Encouraging dialogue and debate on the major education policy and reform priorities of the 1990s.
- Raising $50 million to support research and development needed to achieve Board certification and assessments.

Of the 64 members on the board of directors for the National Board, a majority are elementary and secondary teachers. Lee Shulman, at Stanford University, is directing some related research to determine what teachers should know and be able to do, as well as on the assessments of these skills.

Although the Board is in its infancy, it generally agrees that the standards will include subject matter, generic teaching knowledge (e.g., what a biology teacher ought to know about the difficulties students will encounter in understanding photosynthesis and how to overcome such problems), and assessments of a teacher's actual performance.

The Board is headed by James Kelly, a former foundation executive and former school administrator. The Board expects to issue its first certificates to teachers in 1993.

The national certification is a voluntary procedure, but some states already are moving toward creating state-based systems that are compatible with the National Board standards and processes, which may become standard, not voluntary.

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CHAPTER V

Both protagonist and ally,

the nation's business community

is offering its support of major

changes in the schools, as well as

examples of the new look in management....

TROOPS FOR THE ECONOMIC WAR

Q. Who almost single-handedly made Texas legislators rivet their attention on education and approve a massive reform plan?

A. Dallas businessman H. Ross Perot.

Q. Who organized business leaders to testify in Congress for the first time in support of greater investment in education for the disadvantaged?

A. William Woodside, former chief executive officer of Primerica Corp. and currently head of Sky Chef, Inc.

Q. What groups proposed and helped start or sustain recent dramatic education reforms in California, Minnesota, and Massachusetts?

A. Those of business leaders.

Q. What group produced two of the most influential national reports on education reforms of the past five years, Investing in Our Children and Children in Need?.

A. The Committee for Economic Development, representing top leadership in business and higher education.

Q. Who has participated in almost every major report on education of the past five years?

A. The nation's most influential CEOs.

Q. What non-educator has proposed one of the most radical plans for changing schools of any put forward recently?

A. David Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox Corporation.

It is not coincidence, nor a sudden surge of civic responsibility, which accounts for the unprecedented interest of corporate leadership in school reform. It is economic survival, in the opinion of those caught up in global competition.

The headlines and headline grabbers are couched in shocking language. "American companies are hunting for talent in a labor pool that 'can't read, write, or reason well enough for today's lowest level jobs,'" said an article in the *Training & Development Journal* (July 1988). "So ignorant and benighted are many young recruits to the U.S. work force that one executive after another has recoiled in horror, gasping with astonishment. These are the troops we're supposed to win the global competition with?", declared a *Fortune* article (February 1988). "Public education has put this country at a terrible competitive disadvantage. The American workforce is running out of qualified people," Kearns told the Economic Club of Detroit in October 1987.

Not since the industrial revolution at the turn of the century has the business community been as involved in influencing education policy as during the 1980s. Its earlier involvement resulted in a major turning point for education--the development of a national policy and federal support for vocational education, the first direct federally funded education program (Smith-Hughes Act of 1917).

Today, business involvement with the schools plays out at several levels. Hundreds of adopt-a-school and similar cooperative programs exist at the local level. Business leaders participated wholeheartedly in the many task forces and commissions appointed by state officials to look at education, but it is the rhetoric of prominant businesspeople and the statements of influential business groups that propose more radical changes.

Investing in Our Children,[1] for example, fully supports teacher autonomy and school-based change. The private consulting firm of Berman, Weiler Associates, which developed business-supported reform plans for both Minnesota and California, also endorsed school-site management; expanded teacher responsibilities; teamwork; and parental choice, which should, it said, include private schooling. Its California report, *Restructuring California Education: A Design for Public Education in the Twenty-First Century,*[2] says the state must gradually move to a new system based on different operating principles:

> Continued tinkering with the public schools will not solve the profound difficulties facing educators. The problem is not a lack of money, or an absence of dedicated and competent teachers. More money, higher standards, and minor improvements will at best result in small gains. The problem is the system itself.

Dade Dares To Be Different

A growing number of businesses operate daycare centers for employees and their children, but Dade County, Florida, has gone one further. Public school officials are working with large local businesses to place classrooms in business locales. The first "satellite learning center" was opened in the headquarters of the American Bankers Insurance Group, a K-2 program which is being phased in over three years. A task force of teachers, business leaders, and parents planned the learning center, an idea of Superinten-

dent Joseph Fernandez, to help the school district deal with serious overcrowding. Businesses like the idea, however, because of increased employee morale and decreased employee absenteeism.

For this first center, the American Bankers Insurance Group constructed the classrooms (portables were used the first year). The school district provides teachers, furniture, and instructional materials. The parents supply the transportation.

Other centers, with the full support and leadership of Fernandez, are being opened by the private sector throughout the city.

Shaping Schools in Their Image

As outlined in Chapter I, one argument for restructuring schools centers on the heightened educational background needed by employees for the workplace of today and in the future.

Yet, a vision is embedded in the speeches and proposals of business leaders to change schools, drawn from their own experience in remaking the American workplace. As a General Motors newspaper and magazine advertisement noted in 1988, American industry is learning "how to run a factory without any neckties." Once a symbol that separated white-collar from blue-collar workers, the necktie is becoming almost as obsolete as the smokestack. The jobs are now those of "advisors" and "associates," and everyone works together to make sure the work gets done and done well.

The aim is to improve the productivity of the workforce. Similarly, business wants the organization of schools to change in order to improve their "product"--young people who will be able to function in the new workplace.

Both the private sector and education face parallel issues, more complex than comparing schools to companies, principals to unit managers, and superintendents to CEOs. Just how similar these issues are and how alike their solutions proposed are topics of a paper prepared by Peggy Siegel and Eugene Smoley, Jr., of the management consultant firm of Cresap for the National Governors' Association.[3] Both sectors face three challenges: rethinking mission, doing more with less, and doing things better. In all of these areas, say Siegel and Smoley, the private sector experience could prove helpful in restructuring schools. They explain these three issues as:

1. Knowing Where You're Going: Rethinking Mission

In today's competitive environment, the mission of an organization "is becoming less a lofty statement of good intentions...and more a set of policies increasingly consumer-driven and results-oriented." A 1986 survey of CEOs in 71 major corporations by Cresap and the American Productivity Center found that nearly one-half had changed significantly "in character and structure in the previous five years."

Say Siegel and Smoley: "Companies that fail to define their central purpose and act on that knowledge may not survive in an increasingly competitive environment." A firm's decision to restructure needs to be made in the context of what is happening to the nature of the business it is in. For education, they say, the link between mission and organization is equally critical, with the education sector required to serve the needs of an increasingly diverse student population. This means it will need to attract highly motivated and skilled individuals into the profession. Its mission is to provide an environment in which such individuals will feel successful.

"Business is not in a mood to be timid or fuzzy about changing the education system. At least a million workers a year are coming into the job market not knowing how to read or write, and corporations collectively are spending millions teaching them basic skills. One out of three companies offers basic skills training, and the number of such programs has doubled in the past 10 years."

Training and Development Journal
July 1988

2. Downsizing: Doing More with Less

Restructuring of American business is being played out dramatically "in the language of mergers and acquisitions, corporate raids, spinoffs, and buyouts, as well as massive layoffs and cost cutting." Companies, say Siegel and Smoley, are returning to what they do best. No matter how it comes about, the objective of all this activity is to "confront, articulate, and refine" a company's purpose, even if this means doing so with fewer resources, including people: "In their efforts to become more efficient and effective, companies are eliminating jobs as well as layers of the corporate hierarchy--they are flattening the organizational pyramid."

Most at risk in this process is the middle manager. According to a 1987 survey by *The Wall Street Journal*, three-fourths of the nation's employers may eliminate many managerial and administrative positions. This would be in addition to recent massive cutbacks in the number of hourly workers. Middle managers are being eliminated through automation or decentralizing of their responsibilities, and sometimes through contracting out for services.

According to *The Wall Street Journal*, a two-tiered workforce may be emerging: The inside employee has security and benefits; the outside worker may be self-employed or work in small firms serving large corporations--and not have much security. Middle managers who do survive find their jobs changing. Instead of relaying information between upper and lower ranks, they are coordinating and exchanging information horizontally.

The parallels with education, according to Siegel and Smoley, are evident already. Middle management has its counterpart in school district central office personnel. They point out that some of these positions could disappear if school systems further decentralize responsibilities to school sites and decisionmaking is flattened in the organizational pyramids of school districts.

3. Centralizing or Decentralizing: Doing Things Better

Restructuring in the private sector offers an opportunity to provide the same services innovatively and more efficiently. It may be hiring fewer people, but the private sector "is trying to be smarter about the employees it does hire." In other words, more employees are getting a chance at decisionmaking.

Companies are looking for ways to place responsibility closer to the activity, deciding which functions can be decentralized and giving autonomy to units while also incorporating them into the overall operation. "Just as the traditional lines of demarcation between labor and management are blurring," say Siegel and Smoley, "so too are the lines of authority between the central administration and the local office or operating unit." Yet, decisions about whether and what to decentralize are not easy--most companies are seeking a balance between the two forms of organization.

Using examples of reorganization in insurance and banking, the two authors draw analogies to how school districts provide instructional support. Some districts are delegating to the schools responsibility for supervising instruction as well as developing and evaluating major aspects of the curriculum, with principals held accountable for demonstrating improvements--similar to how one insurance carrier reallocated work to sales representatives. Other school districts are breaking down the "functional barriers" between instructional areas, with curriculum supervisors working together with school instructional staff across different subject areas and grade levels.

> **"Imagine the difficulty of what we at CED and others throughout the nation are trying to do.... We are trying to provide better financing and attract better people into the profession. This requires a total change in 'corporate culture.' What kind of 'corporation' are you changing? If you define America's public school system in corporate terms, what we are trying to change is a corporation with about a $160 billion annual revenue, which is organized into 50 totally autonomous divisions, which are, in turn, organized into 16,000 autonomous or semi-autonomous subsidiaries. Each one of those 16,000 subsidiaries has its own board of directors, its own chief executive officer, and its own labor agreements."**
>
> **Owen Butler**
> **Retired chairman, Procter & Gamble**
> **Chairman, Committee for Economic Development**

Patterns among companies vary greatly, Siegel and Smoley found, and they advise that decisions on which functions should be decentralized should be made on a case-by-case basis. Companies that have analyzed how employees spend their time sometimes are surprised at the mismatch between supposed roles and time actually spent. Similarly, the Public School Forum of North Carolina analyzed time logs kept by 450 teachers, principals, and office staff, finding that teachers spent only one-half of their time instructing or counseling students, while principals spent only 28 percent of their time on instructional or evaluation goals.

Borrowing 'Powerful' Concepts

"Two promising concepts lend power to decentralization efforts," according to Siegel and Smoley, "collaborative management, which shares authority up and down the organization; and rewarding performance, which recognizes and encourages behavior that results in quality products and services." Both strategies are being successfully integrated into the restructuring of many industries, they say.

Collaborative management addresses a major flaw in traditional organizations--holding workers accountable for decisions or events beyond their control. Its applicability to education is obvious, in the opinion of Phil Schlecty, head of the Center of Leadership and School Reform at Louisville, Kentucky: "Frightening though it may be, school boards and top-level administrators are responsible for assuring that teachers et. al. do the right things. Teachers and principals are only accountable for doing right the things they are expected to do."

Collaborative management's goal is to enable all employees to work more effectively; but, add Siegel and Smoley, "it can also help create a supportive culture inside the workplace, wherein employees perceive their own jobs as an integral part of the whole." The challenge for administrators is to share in decisions that complement rather than compete with the primary responsibilities of teachers and principals--those that focus on the classroom.

As for *rewarding performance*, the premise is "what gets rewarded gets done." Contrary to most perceptions, however, the use of pay incentives in industry is not widespread. Becoming more popular are group-based incentives, a development with particular relevance to those school districts and states grappling and often failing with incentives based on merit pay. A study of 1,600 organizations representing 10 percent of the civilian workforce found that "firms generally are abandoning traditional practices, such as straight bonuses, in favor of new incentives that tie pay to productivity and quality, increase teamwork, and enhance employee commitment to and involvement in their jobs. The same trend could well emerge in education, building on the intrinsic rewards of teaching that attract most individuals into the profession."

The issue of rewards also is tied to that of retention of the best employees. In the past, companies--and school systems as well--relied on promotion into management as the major reward to those whom the organization wanted to retain. Unfortunately, this strategy requires the employees to develop a new set of skills which may not match their strengths.

In some cases, say Siegel and Smoley, "this promotional practice creates additional and unneeded management layers, by allowing specialists to perform their old jobs, while requiring them to assume limited supervisory responsibilities over a few individuals." School districts have created the same problem.

"Absent the 'perfect' pay incentive plan," the Cresap paper concludes, "the key to success most likely lies in the extent to which its rewards complement a company's organization and purpose. Many private sector managers are seeking ways to involve employees in shared decisionmaking. Consequently, incentives that reward group performance, or enable individuals to remain in their areas of professional expertise and tackle new challenges without becoming part of management, are gaining popularity."

A Business Model for the Inner City

Determined to prove that what works in business can work in education, leading corporations and businesses in Chicago have put up the money to fund a model for the education of inner-city children.

The Corporate-Community School, with a $2 million advance from about 16 corporations, opened its doors in September 1988 to 150 children ages 2 to 8. Located in a poor West Side neighborhood, the school eventually will go through the eighth grade. In a building donated by the Catholic Church, the school is governed by an 11-member board consisting of five representatives of the corporate sponsors, three educators, and three persons from the neighborhood. Students were selected randomly by computer from more than 2,000 applicants within the local school boundaries.

While lessons from the corporate world may emerge slowly, the school's initial organization reflects some of the changes going on in the private sector:

- ***Decisionmaking is at the site level***, and there are no layers (middle management) between the governing board and the school.
- ***The school organization caters to the needs of the "clients"*** through flexibility--it is open from 7 a.m. until 7 p.m. and will operate year-round; classes are organized around skill level, not by age; instruction is individualized.
- ***Basic skills form the core of the curriculum***, but with an emphasis upon the development of critical thinking and of social skills an "empowerment" curriculum for students.
- ***A full-time office in the school will provide for the social service needs*** of both students and families, and teachers will work with parents through home visits and constant contact, a form of "reward" for the families and expanded responsibilities for teachers.

According to the corporate sponsors, they will use the research findings from the Chicago school to establish other schools around the country in inner-city neighborhoods where the traditional system is not successful. However, apples may not be compared to apples because the Chicago model skirts around the politics of education, a reality where lay leadership is selected by the public or politically motivated community governing boards.

What One Business Leader Means by Restructuring

The corporate leader most intent on tying recent experience of business in implementing radical changes to what should be done in education is David Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox Corporation.

Kearns led his corporation through a major restructuring effort. He also looked at the $260 million that Xerox spends each year on employee training and worried that "we can do no better than the graduates of the nation's schools." Kearns is not looking for an improved vocational education system. He believes American competitiveness depends on workers with a substantive, quality liberal education.

A liberal education prepares the individual to think independently, to step back from problems and the crowd, to be an entrepreneur and innovator. The virtues of a liberal education are the virtues of free enterprise in general and the high-tech, knowledge-based society in particular--flexibility, adaptability, inventiveness, even playfulness. The fact is that capitalism is unruly and freewheeling. Under that exterior, it is also disciplined, determined, and hard working.

"That business cannot flourish in the future in the international economy with large populations of citizens unequipped to fill the available jobs has become conventional wisdom, and business leaders are beginning to bring pressures for change in a chronic condition that has so far defied the solutions of both the public and private sectors."

***Governing*, July 1988**

Working with Denis Doyle, an education researcher and principal author of the Committee for Economic Development report, *Investing in Our Children*, Kearns has developed a blueprint for restructuring of American education, detailed in their book, *Winning the Brain Race: A Bold Plan to Make Our Schools Competitive*.[4]

Their restructuring plan includes six steps:

1. **Choice.** Public schools would be part of a free market, not a monopoly. Teachers would market their skills to any school in their district or region; children would be able to attend any public school in their district or region. States would fund children with comparable needs equally, without regard to tax base or neighborhood. If a child changes schools, state money follows him or her.

2. **Restructuring.** Every public school district with 2,500 or more children would reorganize into a year-round universal magnet system. Principals and teachers would have complete academic and administrative autonomy. The district office would become a service center (an idea suggested also in *A Nation Prepared*). "Schools would determine their own specialties, set their own curriculums, and compete with each

other in a new education marketplace fueled by academic diversity and free choice," say Kearns and Doyle. Racial balance would be maintained.

The traditional grade structure would be eliminated, with students progressing on the basis of mastery. States would ensure minimum levels of performance through annual testing; schools that failed to improve in student performance would be closed.

3. Professionalism. Teachers would assume greater responsibility and, thus, need to fulfill higher standards, based more on academic knowledge than on methodology. Undergraduate degrees in education would be eliminated; Kearns and Doyle support the creation of a national certification board. Also, salaries would be based on a combination of performance and longevity.

4. Standards. Academic standards would be raised for all students, and there would be no promotion without performance. Elementary schools would require foreign languages, music, geography, and history and provide a beginning to computer literacy. High schools would eliminate tracking and require every student to have four years of English, three years of math, three years of history, two consecutive years of the same foreign language, two years of a natural or physical science, and one year of a computer science. A C-minus average would be required for participation in extra-curricular activities.

5. Values. Students would be better informed about democratic principles and understand the responsibilities of American citizenship.

6. Federal responsibility. The federal role would remain limited, but it would be more than it is. Federal funds would be used to leverage the restructuring ideas contained in the Kearns/Doyle blueprint, to create higher education opportunities for those wanting to teach, to improve on education research, to expand on national assessments, and to fully fund Chapter I and Head Start.

Dale Mann, professor at Teachers College/Columbia University and a researcher of business involvement in the schools, notes that Kearns' ideas are provocative, his experience in restructuring dramatically successful at Xerox. But he adds some caution to the corporate leader's outline of radical change for schools. In the April 1988 *Phi Delta Kappan*, Mann says that Kearns' emphasis on professionalism, autonomy and accountability for teachers deserves recognition.

However, "a simultaneous equation that maximizes those values will be even more difficult in public schools than in private enterprise. Union power, academic freedom, an unclear technology of teaching and learning, too many goals, and too few resources combine to make maintenance and survival--not reform and restructuring--the top priorities in most places."

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CHAPTER VI

University communities
have left their Ivory Towers
to become actively involved in both
the development of ideas for restructuring
and the practical application of them in the schools....

OUT OF THE IVORY TOWER

The perception of higher education institutions as agents of change and reform in the schools generally has been somewhat negative--one of aloofness and lack of relevance to the concerns of those "in the trenches."

One of the remarkable aspects of the current interest in the restructuring of schools, then, is the contribution of higher education to the debate--and to possible solutions. The major advocates of theory-into-practice all have university bases. Theodore Sizer is at Brown University; John Goodlad is at the University of Washington; Marc Tucker, while heading the new Center on Education and the Economy, is also on the faculty of the University of Rochester; and the Paideia Project is now centered at the University of North Carolina. Stanford University leads the research for the development of a knowledge base and assessment for the new national teacher certification board, under the direction of Lee Shulman. The Harvard University Graduate School of Education has been out front on creating networks for principals seeking greater professionalism and is embarking on a renewed program to train administrators for high-challenge superintendencies.

Meanwhile, concurrent with the upsurge of interest in radically changing what goes on in schools through teacher and school-site leadership, the research universities around the country decided that teacher education should be an important focus for them.

The Holmes Group Consortium

Each state and about 100 campuses now are represented in the Holmes Group, a consortium of education deans and chief academic officers that began with discussions among a small group of deans at the Wingspread Conference Center in 1983 about the crisis in teacher education.

The Holmes Group, named for a former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education who sought to raise the quality of teacher education in the 1920s, agreed on the directions it would take in its 1986 publication, *Tomorrow's Teachers.* The group's approach differed from previous reform movements in that it recognized teacher education as a creature of the profession--that the profession must be changed before any changes in teacher education can be protected; and that talented teachers and administrators must be brought into the change process. The goals of the Holmes Group include:

- To make the education of teachers more intellectually sound; to make prospective teachers thoughtful students of teaching and its improvement. This means shifting professional academic and clinical studies from the undergraduate to the graduate level in order to give prospective teachers a solid background in liberal arts and sciences.

- To recognize differences in the knowledge, skills, and commitment of teachers; and in their education, certification, work, and career opportunities, by distinguishing among role responsibilities. The Holmes Group describes differentiated staffing as having three levels of leaders: instructors, professional teachers, and career professionals.

> **"The only thing that will bring about professional status for teachers in the eyes of those we serve--the public--is when they can see that teachers actually bring about learning in kids. When teacher education has a hand in that, teacher education will be viewed as a profession."**
>
> **Del Schalock,**
> **Oregon State University**

- To create standards of entry to the profession, both examinations and educational requirements, that are "professionally relevant and intellectually defensible."
- To connect institutions of higher and professional education with schools in order to make better use of expert teachers in induction of other teachers and in research on teaching, and to build demonstration sites.
- To make schools better places for teachers to work and for students to learn by altering the professional roles and responsibilities of teachers. This means changing authority roles in schools and giving teachers more autonomy.

A major undertaking of the Holmes Group is the application of these ideas into a well-defined concept for "professional development schools." This "Tomorrow's Schools" project is funded primarily by a $200,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. A series of colloquia on a new vision for learning and teaching, including one on restructured schools, was scheduled to produce material for a report to be issued in September 1989. The steering committee for the project consists of one-half university faculty and administrators and one-half teachers and administrators from schools.

Not only is the Holmes Group collaborating with the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards, but several people serve on the board of both groups, creating a sort of interlocking directorate on teacher preparation. One sub-group is writing recommendations for the content and structure of professional studies in education--not a Holmes Group curriculum, says the group's newsletter *Forum*, but a statement "in broad outline of the themes, topics, knowledge, and skills to be represented in the professional course of study."

At the first colloquium on "Tomorrow's Schools" in July 1988, some of the themes that the Holmes Group will pursue in changing the professional preparation of teachers became evident. For example, according to the Forum, educators in schools of the future will need to put aside two fundamental conceptions of learning and teaching: "The first is that teaching is telling, knowledge is facts, and learning is accumulation and recitation. The second is that basic skills develop before 'higher order skills' and must be taught first."

Creating Cooperative Learning Environments. Researchers reported on projects that exemplify how teachers can create cooperative learning environments. The projects accomplish three purposes:

- Academic learning achieved by teaching subject matter not for facts but for understanding--starting from students' curiosity and moving toward their interpretations of the subject's meanings in their lives and its connections to other subjects.
- Instilling learning-how-to-learn strategies for economic self-sufficiency by a kind of teaching that, across all subject matter studies, gives students strategies for working together to gather, organize, analyze, interpret, and communicate information, as well as give them ways to apply it.
- Preparation for citizenship by organizing the classroom as a cooperative learning community pursuing inquiries or undertaking projects that are important to students.

Yet, the Holmes Group seminar participants recognized dilemmas and concerns about restructuring schools into such environments. Among them:

- The changes will be "wrenching" and must be comprehended and accepted by the public.
- Administrators need to be as concerned about the conditions

necessary for teachers to gain and sustain knowledge as they should be about the learning environments for students.

- The public's conception of teaching and learning is simplistic and superficial but cannot be changed unless education leaders understand the experimental nature and magnitude of restructuring.
- Teachers have a low sense of efficacy and self-esteem, and are unprepared to deal with more options for students that can lead to unpredictability and uncertainty.
- The attitudes of today's students--characterized by alienation, a low sense of efficacy, and often boredom--create tensions that will need to be resolved while, at the same time, instructional processes and the school environment are changing.

> **"University faculty have got the notion of rewards for working with schools all fouled up. They think they are going to have to be rewarded for doing Rotary Club type service projects in schools, but what they should be doing is undertaking 'critical areas of inquiry,' such as helping practitioners go from successful practice to theory."**
>
> **Richard Clark, Deputy Superintendent**
> **Bellevue, Washington**

A University Partnership in Action. Liaisons between higher education institutions and school districts are not a new idea. The clinical component of educator preparation programs relies heavily on cooperating school districts, and campuses more and more are becoming the coordinating site for such renewal efforts as principals' and superintendents' academies.

While the Holmes Group demonstration schools undoubtedly will stretch this concept of partnerships further and introduce change as a focal point, what are the realistic possibilities of higher education/school district cooperation in the near future?

A number of successful partnerships already exist. One program has been demonstrating for more than a decade what these possibilities are. STEP (Student/Teacher Educational Partnership Program) is a comprehensive model of academic collaboration representing a pool of resources from five different segments in California. These include the Santa Ana school district, a largely minority district; the Rancho Santiago Community College; Chapman College, a private four-year institution; California State University at Fullerton; and the University of California at Irvine.

STEP works on addressing the needs of all students in math, science, and language arts; improving the academic success of minorities underrepresented in postsecondary education; and developing and disseminating collaborative practices that model the education community's ability to solve problems together. It does this through curriculur revision, professional development, student academic support and instructional guidance, parental involvement, and dissemination efforts.

With support from the California Academic Partnership Program, a legislative program to stimulate university and school partnerships, STEP in the past few years has:

- Revised the grades 6 through 12 math curriculum and piloted it in a dozen classrooms.
- Trained all 80 math teachers in the district in new methodologies and established a network for them.
- Prepared counselors to help students with new course placement prerequisites.
- Prepared and disseminated a new science resource guide and sponsored science workshops by subject area, which brought together the teachers from these courses for the first time.
- Developed a new science resource guide for limited-English-speaking students.

In addition, secondary teachers are working with teams from the universities to develop integrated mathematics and science curricula that use team teaching. Elementary teachers are using a "family math" curriculum to help children and parents learn together. Special programs are encouraging minority students to become teachers, and a "family science" component was developed for piloting in the 1988-89 school year.

The success of the partnership, say its supporters, relies on a long-term commitment from the participants, a modeling of collaboration by the chief executive officers from the institutions through their administrative council for the project, and the resources and time given to university and school faculty to work together. Before STEP, only about 10 percent of Santa Ana's high school graduates attended postsecondary institutions. By 1985, that proportion was up to about 65 percent.

Restructuring in Chelsea, Mass.

A university-school partnership that fits the restructuring mold was, in 1989, one to watch. The Chelsea, Mass., school system, one of the poorest in the state and burdened by persistent problems with both financing and academic achievement, approved a plan, in December 1988, that led to turning over management of the schools to Boston University.

The 10-year partnership gives the university control over budgeting, hiring, and curriculum in the 3,400-student system in the Boston metropolitan area. In the agreement, Boston University pledged within five years to raise basic skills of third graders to state averages, raise average scores for those students in the system during the entire five years "dramatically," reduce the dropout rate by five percent, "significantly" increase the number of high school graduates attending four-year institutions, and reduce teacher absenteeism by an average of 20 percent.

The project is directed by Peter Greer, dean of the university's school of education and a former school superintendent and official of the U.S. Department of Education under Secretary William Bennett. Several years ago, Boston University President John Silber urged the same idea for the Boston School Committee but was turned down.

Critics of this radical plan note that Boston University's guarantees depend on increased financial support from local, state, and federal levels. The plan also could violate terms of the teachers' collective bargaining agreement with the Chelsea School Committee and exempt the district from some existing legal requirements.

Applying Research to Restructuring

Another university-school partnership, also originating in California, applies the research resources of Stanford University's School of Education to the education of disadvantaged children.

Working in pilot schools in the Bay Area of San Francisco and a statewide network in Missouri as initial sites, Henry Levin of Stanford University is putting into practice his ideas on "accelerated learning" for the disadvantaged. Rather than base education of poor children on remedial models, Levin's premise is that children from disadvantaged families need more intellectual stimulation, not less.

Placing these children in less demanding situations in order to help them catch up, while seemingly rational and compassionate, has the exact opposite consequences, he maintains. It reduces learning expectations on the parts of both children and educators. Further, the usual treatment of the educationally disadvantaged "is not designed to bring students up to the point where they can benefit from mainstream instruction and perform at grade-level." Another criticism is that "by deliberately slowing the pace of instruction to a crawl, a heavy emphasis is placed on endless repetition of material through drill-and-practice. The result is that the school experience of the disadvantaged lacks intrinsic vitality, omits crucial learning skills and reinforcement, and moves at a plodding pace that reinforces low expectations." Finally, says Levin, most compensatory education programs fail to involve parents meaningfully or to draw upon community resources.

Goals of Accelerated Learning. His "Accelerated Schools" seek to change all of these factors. They include:

- ***School-based governance.*** The choice of curriculum, instructional strategies, and other school policies are decided by the instructional staff of the school.
- ***Goals.*** The governing body of the school established as part of the school governance sets clear goals for students, parents, and staff. The overriding goal of an Accelerated School is to bring the academic performance of students up to grade level to prepare them for mainstream educational opportunities by the completion of the elementary grades. Goals go beyond academics and focus on areas such as student attendance and participation in school activities; teacher

attendance, participation and morale; vandalism and behavior problems; and school contributions to the community through the performing arts and community service.

- ***Pupil and school assessment.*** Individual assessments of children at school entry help set individualized goals and are periodically reviewed. School assessments tie into the goals set by the governing body.
- ***Nutrition and health.*** Schools work with families and social agencies in the community to diagnose health needs and to meet them.
- ***Curriculum.*** Accelerated Schools emphasize language arts heavily in all subject areas, with special attention to analysis, concepts, and problem solving from the primary grades on. The curriculum relates to the daily lives and interests of students, and students are expected to be active rather than passive learners. Arts and physical activities are emphasized.

> **"The Holmes Group offers...a vision of teaching and learning that is fundamentally interactive. The professional knowledge that competent teachers possess goes beyond a strong, coherent liberal education. It is not merely common sense, nor is it learned only through trial-and-error teaching or the experience of being a student. Rather, it includes academic and clinical learning that prepares one to manage both mastery of content and the complex social relations of the classroom in a way that fosters student learning as well as an attachment to learning."**
>
> **Michael Sedlak, Michigan State University**
> ***Teachers College Record*, Spring 1987**

- ***Instructional strategies.*** The pace is faster than the slowdown usually associated with remedial instruction, using such techniques as peer tutoring, cooperative learning, and outside assignments.
- ***Community resources.*** Schools enlist all the resources they can get, including adult tutors; social agencies to take care of family needs; and enrichment programs for after-school activities, such as Big Brothers or the Girl Scouts.

- ***Parental participation and training.*** Parents are asked to agree to the goals of the Accelerated School and their obligations for attaining them. These obligations include encouraging their children to read daily and to take an interest in their activities. Parents are given help in assisting their children, including upgrading their own academic skills.
- ***Extended daily session.*** Schools ideally are extended until at least 5 p.m., providing physical activities, the arts and independent enrichment, and assignment help. A summer session makes the school program year-round.

Levin acknowledges that schools need time and the research information to establish accelerated learning. The Accelerated Schools Project at Stanford, in addition to working directly with two schools, has established a clearinghouse to support accelerated schools around the country. Ultimately, however, Levin says the support must come from school districts themselves.

Working from a base at Arizona State University, Stanley Pogrow has developed the Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS) program for students in Chapter I classes. It combines computer technology with direct, daily discourse to give students in remedial programs a contextual basis for expanding their learning.

Both Levin and Pogrow have received grants from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation to implement their ideas in middle schools.

Advice for Those Beginning Partnerships

There are some myths about campus-school collaborations that need to be addressed before getting started, says Ann Lieberman, professor at the University of Washington and director of The Puget Sound Consortium. She says the myths include: First, "you must have clear goals"; second, "you must have carefully planned activities"; third, "there must be agreements about its structure before the collaboration is sealed"; and fourth, "you must have a solid administrative structure and permanent group of people."

Put away rational-linear ideas, Lieberman says. A collaboration may start with some ideas that mobilize people, but its real need is for a commitment to collaborate among a small core of activists, people willing to learn from mistakes and who are comfortable with ambiguity.

"Doing something together is what's critical," she said. "In the beginning, it's always going to be tense. The risks are definitely worth taking, but you may have to take the beating that goes with it. Collaborations or consortiums have a great deal to do with the vision of the person who's in charge."

The two cultures, both campus and school, need to understand their differences. And one of the most important may be time. "University people feel like they have all the time in the world to think," she said, "and school people feel like they don't have two seconds."

CHAPTER VII

State policies regarding
major educational reforms
have experienced a restructuring
of their own, evolving from proscriptive
measures to those that enable school-site change....

RESTRUCTURING STATE CONTROL

The American system of federalism lives on a see-saw. At times, federal and national initiatives take precedence, driving changes and innovation in policies. At other times, the states take over, providing the leadership for refinements and reforms. During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the federal government rode high on the see-saw of education--as its funding of elementary and secondary education, as well as student aid and other programs, expanded greatly. Regulatory control also grew when the federal level instituted requirements for accountability.

The decade of the 1980s, however, belonged largely to the states. With retrenchment in federal programs and funding for education, states took the initiative, developing a massive reform movement across the country. Concurrently, the economic situation, in which states not only competed against each other for business/industry investments but also competed for global markets, thrust the quality of education to the forefront of many state agendas.

During the 1980s, state funding of public elementary and secondary education passed the 50 percent mark. Further, education represents the largest single expenditure among the states--an average of 37 percent of their annual budgets.

So, it is not surprising that officials of state education agencies, replying to a survey for this report, named state policymakers and business leaders as the primary proponents of changes in the public school system. Of the 30 replies, only three credited school administrator groups as being among those pushing for changes; only two mentioned teacher groups; and only one said that school boards were reform-minded.

Mississippi, among the first states to step into the reform mode with the approval of major governance and program changes in 1982, did so for economic reasons, according to Thomas Saterfiel, deputy state superintendent. "There was a belief among the business leaders and the general public," he said, "that our long-term economic success was tied to the quality of our public education system. There also was a willingness to spend money if it resulted in improved achievement of students. The public schools became popular for state officials to support."

State 'Instruments' for Change

According to Lorraine McDonnell and Richard Elmore of Michigan State University, states have four categories of policy "instruments" they can use to leverage changes in schools:

- Mandates
- Inducements
- Capacity-building, and
- System-changing.

As outlined in Chapter II--and in the opinions of most policy analysts--state activity throughout most of the 1980s concentrated on the first two alternatives, primarily to raise student standards and improve teacher quality.

The reform steps accelerated what had been a gradual increase in state discretion over decisionmaking in education, according to Michael Kirst of Stanford University, a leading analyst of education governance and policymaking. A frequent loss of confidence in local leadership, the rise of special interest groups, and greater state funding of education eroded local control. In fact, Kirst believes "the golden age of the superintendent has passed, with profound consequences for administrative control. The state-based reform strategy that began in 1983 will intensify all these trends favoring nonlocal influences on education policy."

However, research favors increased school-site responsibility as the key element in making significant improvements in education, Kirst says. "One way to reconcile these opposing tendencies is for the state or district to emphasize desired outcomes in broad terms and not prescribe content or procedures in detail," he suggests. "Except for a common core of skills and knowledge, state education departments and local districts should encourage individual schools to develop their own distinctive characters."

Fewer Mandates Is Goal. Under the rubric of "restructuring," that appears to be what is happening. Many states still are playing out the mandate game with traditional approaches, but some have adopted a new agenda--one originally described by former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander as an attitude of, "The better you perform, the more we will leave you alone."

The National Governors' Association is tracking what states are doing to reform education, as part of its five-year follow-up to its 1986 report, *Time for Results.* With $1.6 million as of the end of 1988 from the Carnegie Corporation, the association is both conducting research on education change and funding demonstrations that promote restructuring in about 10 states.

Michael Cohen, an education policy expert with NGA, believes states must change their thinking and actions in at least three broad areas, if they expect schools and districts to be able to change:

- ***Setting Educational Goals*** This is a critical precondition to providing greater discretion and flexibility at the local school site level. State boards can begin by establishing long-range educational goals that adequately reflect the knowledge and higher-order skills graduates will need. The goals must take a middle road between the current extremes--of vaguely worded platitudes or highly specific lists of requirements.

To have an impact, the goals must be linked to state testing and assessment programs, which should emphasize higher-order skills rather than the current minimum competencies of many state testing programs. This also will mean the development of alternatives to standardized testing in order to reflect higher-order skills.

The assessment program adopted by states must reflect values beyond traditional results. "Not only do we want average improvement gains, we also want to ensure substantial gains for the lowest achiever students," says Cohen. "Although we want to improve cognitive skills, we also need to reduce the dropout rate."

- ***Stimulating local innovation.*** The need for restructuring is clear, but new concepts must come "through carefully supported local efforts, where new ideas can emerge from and be tested against the realities of schools and classrooms." Cohen says states can provide leadership by:
  --Articulating a vision of restructured schools.
  --Encouraging local experimentation with various school structures.
  --Reducing unnecessary administrative and regulatory barriers to experimentation with promising approaches.
  --Providing ongoing implementation support and technical assistance to schools and districts trying new approaches.
  --Linking rewards and sanctions for schools to their performance.
  --Researching and disseminating results to other schools.
- ***Rethinking state accountability systems.*** During the 1980s, states tightened their accountability strategies, primarily through minimum competency testing; but several states have begun to use effective schools research as a part of regulation. This includes setting stan-

dards for staff development, principal leadership, and the development of goals. Also, some states are developing sanctions for poor performance or noncompliance with state standards.

While these recommendations would change policies in most states, they also focus on the lowest performing schools and students, Cohen points out. In the future, states will need to link accountability to higher goals adopted by districts and schools and hold both districts and local schools accountable for their performance.

A major undertaking for states will be the way they go about setting performance standards for individual schools, as these standards become the core of change and decisionmaking. Cohen says these could be ***absolute*** standards, based on comparison with fixed, predetermined criteria, such as a dropout rate for each school of no more than five percent. A comparative approach would judge a school only against schools serving similar students. This perhaps is fairer, but it also would tend to set lower standards for schools having large concentrations of poor students. Another strategy would be to use improvement standards, judging a school against its own previous performance.

The next step for states will be to link rewards to performance, preferably discretionary dollars. Finally, states will need to establish procedures for intervention when schools fail to improve (already existing in at least a half-dozen states as "educational bankruptcy" policies).

The Focus of the Chiefs

The Council of Chief State School Officers, while active in many facets of restructuring, such as assessment policies and leadership training, has chosen to focus its efforts on the implications of restructuring for at-risk students. Largely under the leadership of former Maryland State Superintendent David Hornbeck and then CCSSO president, the CCSSO adopted a statement in November 1987 basically supporting a guarantee that all students would have the resources to help them attain high school graduation. This is the goal for the year 2000 and "will require substantial changes in education policy and school practice now," says the CCSSO statement.

The laws of each state, while differing in approach, "should provide for an elementary and secondary education program of high quality for all students," according to the statement. This would include provision of supporting health, social welfare, employment, housing, safety, transportation, and other human services which, "together with the educational programs, are reasonably calculated to enable all persons to graduate from high school."

While adopted without much debate, many of the chiefs also recognized that these guarantees would be much more difficult to accomplish in some states than in others; but, nevertheless, they accepted the statement as a standard.

Meanwhile, the National Association of State Boards of Education has been conducting a task force inquiry on state board leadership efforts that could foster quality efforts at restructuring. As part of its study, NASBE staff prepared a detailed analysis of the impact of state policy and regulations on restructuring efforts in three New Mexico school districts. The NASBE report for state boards across the nation was to be issued in October 1989.

However, There Are Stumbling Blocks

In Project Education Reform, 16 school districts selected by eight governors were given broad flexibility to seek improvements as outlined in the National Governors' Association report, *Time for Results*. Their initial experiences are detailed in Chapter VIII, but it is significant that virtually all of the superintendents of the districts stumbled across state laws and regulations, despite promises to loosen federal and state ties. They noted several problems: teacher certification requirements that make it hard to hire the people they want; state bilingual and vocational education laws that are cumbersome and limiting; state course requirements; and state laws controlling the use of school facilities.

The View from the States

The language of the NGA and other groups replaces "improvement" and "reform" with the word restructuring, regardless of the nature of the changes taking place. That states are moving into a second, or third, wave of education change is evident, but not all of the activity fits with common definitions of restructuring. However, there are interesting developments in almost every state.

Michigan

The Michigan state board adopted a plan in the mid-1980s for school improvement, which called for establishing an office in the state education department; deploying teams of experts to local and regional offices; and creating a network of educators with the data and technical assistance to make assessments and set higher goals, particularly for at-risk students. Restructuring will be most effective, says Janice Brown, coordinator of the School Improvement Office in the Michigan State Department of Education, "when each local school district is willing to establish a baseline of their current status and develop an improvement plan on that basis."

North Carolina

"Our efforts at 'reform' have not reached the level which I would term as restructuring," says Dudley Flood, associate state superintendent for the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction. "We are right now at the level of being committed to doing things better. The next step must be that of doing better things."

The state's 1985 Basic Education program will have increased funding by 1993, by $700 million to create smaller classes; offer expanded academic courses; and improve curricular resources. The plan came with a great deal of regulation--minimum standards for all grades in all subject areas, with an emphasis on thinking and reasoning skills. The accreditation process, which had been voluntary, became a mandate.

However, North Carolina also exemplifies the evolution taking place in education policy. In December 1988, the Public School Forum and the North Carolina Citizens for Business and Industry issued a report recommending that educators be given more flexibility, in exchange for more accountability for student achievement. "Nothing less than a fundamental restructuring of schools will suffice to accomplish that change," said former Governor James B. Hunt, Jr., who helped lay the foundation for the earlier plan.

The "New Compact" would increase teachers' salaries and provide state-funded, voluntary pre-school care for three- and four-year-olds. It would tie a state-funded career ladder program to proven positive results in student achievement, give teachers and students more training in working with at-risk students, give teachers clerical and staff support, emphasize hands-on learning, and increase the use of technology.

Kentucky

Kentucky's Governor Wallace Wilkinson was pushing for enaction of his School Improvement Incentive program, which would establish standards for student performance; measure the success of schools in achieving the standards; and reward the staff in those schools that show progress toward the attainment of the standards.

However, his reform proposals had a rocky road in the state legislature, then were upstaged in June 1989 by the state supreme court, which declared the Kentucky school system, not just its financing, unconstitutional. The ruling called for a review of all laws governing education, including those establishing school boards, school districts, the state education department, and teacher certification.

The General Assembly was charged with restructuring the entire school system and has established a legislative commission to begin the work.

New York

A Task Force on the Teaching Profession, appointed by Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol in November 1987, reported the following spring with a plan that extended far beyond just teacher professionalism and embraced ideas for the restructuring of schools. Tied into a 10-point "Bill of Rights" for children in the state, also proposed by Sobol and adopted by the Board of Regents in March 1989, the ideas form the basis for restructuring in the Empire State.

The task force called for the creation of "learner-centered schools." Specifically, it proposed:

- Awarding of competitive grants for school restucturing.
- Requiring each district to develop a comprehensive plan for joint decisionmaking within five years of the report's adoption.

- Developing a "Marshall Plan" providing state funds for immediate renovation of schools that are in poor physical condition.
- Establishing funding to assist districts that physically improve the professional environment of schools.
- Increasing support staff to free teachers from noninstructional duties.
- Reducing teaching loads at schools in need (between 80 and 120, compared to the current load of 150).
- Continuing provision of state funds to increase teacher salaries.

> **"While centralization may be better for naval units, steel mills, and state highway departments, the effective schools literature suggests that the most important changes take place when those responsible for each school are given more responsibility rather than less."**
>
> **Michael Kirst, Stanford University**

The proposal also recommended steps to increase the number of those selecting careers in teaching. It would establish in each district a Task Force on Schools, including teachers, administrators, parents, students, and representatives of other community groups, to discuss school issues, establish long-range goals, and address the need for resources to meet those goals. Pilot programs, it said, should enable coordination of education, welfare, and health services, with schools as the hub.

States to Watch

There are some states, however, either on their own or with incentive grants, that are further along on truly restructuring their schools. The attempts are too new to say that the state initiatives produced the desired results, but they are worth examining in more detail.

Arkansas

In 1987, Governor Bill Clinton told educators from 15 school districts assembled to discuss further changes in their schools that he wanted them "to put some meat on the bones of the debate" over restructuring. The theme of the Arkansas effort is "restructuring for higher-order learning," and the state has a working model to learn from--a "school-within-a-school" in the Springdale, Arkansas, district that is part of the Coalition of Essential Schools. Further, the state provided the district staffs with the best thoughts and advice from experts around the country involved in policymaking for or operation of school restructuring.

Also, Arkansas had approved a reform strategy, the Education Standards of 1983, which Clinton described as "a floor." Beyond that, he told the 1987 meeting, "Creative genius lies in the magic control of school." Those schools that have met the minimums need to rethink relationships in order to achieve maximums, he said.

The 15 school districts began implementing their plans during the 1988-89 school year, under these guiding principles:

- The leadership of the local district (school board, superintendent, and central office staff) must be committed to the view that the local school is the unit of change and that its teachers and administrators must be enabled and empowered to chart the school's educational course.
- The clear and undeniable emphasis in restructured schools should be on higher-order learning for all students. The "student as knowledge worker" should be the fundamental concept that guides decisions regarding the structure and organization of the school. The school should view its mission as finding more effective ways to develop the talents and abilities of all its students.
- Restructured schools must demonstrate the belief that instruction is most effective in a school environment characterized by collegiality among the staff and a wide range of instructional practices. Further, it must be clear in such schools that teachers are both responsible for instructional processes and accountable for the outcomes of learning.
- Restructured schools do not all look alike and do not seek for "one best way." They will reflect changes in systems of instruction, the use of time, the learning environment, organizational structure, leadership, and the way teachers and other staff members interact with each other and with students.
- In restructured schools, the principal is a "leader of leaders" with the primary task in this regard being the development of leadership in

teachers. In the exercise of such leadership, the principal of a restructured school is less concerned about doing things right than with doing the right thing.

- Restructured schools must be supported by an education community with a clearly articulated vision and an abiding passion for educational excellence in all respects. Without this broad support, leadership, and commitment, "restructuring" cannot endure.

School districts that demonstrate commitment to these principles can expect the collaboration of the state, according to Ruth Steele, then director of the Arkansas Department of Education. The state has established long-range goals for restructuring and will assess them; it supports and stimulates local experimentation; and it promotes collaboration.

However, Steele recognizes that school districts cannot agree to the state's offer of restructuring without great soul-searching. "Before we tear anything down, we must be willing to replace it with something," she says. "Therefore, we must proceed in a thoughtful and deliberate manner." While the state is willing to be flexible in regard to state regulations that might impede local plans, "it is not willing to exchange something for nothing." School districts asking for a waiver of a particular state standard must not only show how the standard blocks desired progress but also how the district's proposal will result in more responsibility and greater accountability.

Re:Learning Promotes Bottom-Up Change

The Arkansas school restructuring plan provides a model for a collaborative effort between the Coalition of Essential Schools and the Education Commission of the States. Basically, states participating agree to provide flexibility needed to foster the aims of Coalition schools. School districts commit themselves to changing fundamentally the structure of schools along the lines of the Coalition schools.

Re:Learning, as the project is known, began with five states in 1988--Delaware, Rhode Island, Illinois, New Mexico, and Arkansas. Pennsylvania was added to the network in 1989.

It is a true bottom-up way of promoting change through policymaking, according to Beverly Anderson, associate executive director of ECS. "The desire to provide the best opportunities for all students to learn, not bureaucratic ease or political interests, must be the driving force for the actions of all adults involved in education from teacher and parent to governor," she explains. "In Re:Learning, school, district, and state leaders are having the opportunity to experience what this means not only in the schools, but throughout the education system."

States and districts participating in the Re:Learning project agree to provide technical assistance, financial aid, and regulatory waivers and adjustments in state and district practices needed to put the Coalition ideas into action. This includes allowing teachers planning time, travel allowances to visit other schools, and other such assistance.

California

In traditional modes, California's reform strategies of the past few years, under the leadership of the state superintendent, Bill Honig, probably have touched more facets of education than in any other state. This has included data gathering, standard-setting, curriculum revisions, textbook content, early childhood initiatives, and teacher quality programs.

The reform agenda continues, with state leaders pressing for such changes as greater teacher autonomy; more creative accountability programs, including incentives for good performance and sanctions for consistent failures; more choice for parents among public schools; and smaller classes.

However, a report prepared for the California Business Roundtable, *Restructuring California Education*, would go even further, and parts of it are under consideration by lawmakers. Small improvements are no longer acceptable, says the report, in the face of a dropout rate of one-third and a student population increasingly poor, minority, or non-English-speaking.

The major recommendations of the report, prepared by BW Associates, which also developed recommendations for changes in Minnesota, included:

- ***Expand and focus schooling*** by establishing different configurations. There would be primary schooling for all students, a consolidation of elementary and secondary education on core academics, and the institution of post-10th-grade student options for specialized education.
- ***Establish accountability*** based on performance and choice by setting student performance goals, instituting statewide exit tests, and deregulating schooling; strengthening school perfomance reports and intervening in failing schools; and supporting parental choice of expanded school options.
- ***Establish school autonomy***, and empower parents, teachers, and principals by providing schools with discretionary budget funding and authority; involving parents, community members, and teachers in school governance; expanding teacher responsibilities; and promoting team approaches to instructional management.
- ***Modernize instruction*** by redirecting staff development to advance implementation of effective practices, enabling all schools to integrate technology into instruction and management, and promoting adoption of flexible educational programs (year-round schooling; flexible class scheduling; different use of space, including leasing or using off-campus facilities).
- ***Strengthen the teaching profession*** by establishing multi-tiered teaching systems with higher salary rates, upgrading the process of becoming a teacher, and assuring continuing high professional standards (peer review, lead teacher evaluation).
- ***Capitalize on diversity*** by building school capacities to provide English language acquisition, assuring foreign language proficiency for all children, and establishing critical and minority teacher shortage programs.

According to the report, such an education system "would give schools more autonomy and make performance the driving force for improvement. Parent, student, and teacher choice and accountability would accompany greater local autonomy, stimulating excellence in all schools and for all students."

Maine

Following a statewide conference representing 130 schools throughout the state, Maine began the process of selecting 10 schools to participate in its Restructuring Schools Project.

The schools that applied needed the approval of the superintendent, principal, school board, and 75 percent of the school's teaching staff. Three schools were selected in September 1988; seven others were given annual, renewable grants to develop plans.

The project of the Maine Department of Educational and Cultural Services encourages schools to go beyond the usual "tinkering" with school change and, instead, "reexamine their school's mission, and seriously consider redesigning staffing, scheduling, curriculum, decision-making, instructional tasks, activities, and grouping," according to a description in *The Regional Lab Reports.*

The three schools received a supplement of $50,000 a year for the three years of their project (the minimum years needed, in the estimation of the Coalition of Essential Schools). The other seven schools' annual grants are $10,000 each. The finalists submitted acceptable plans with:

- ***Vision***. A description of how their project would impact on students and how the essential structures of the school would be affected.
- ***Planning***. A definition of the planning process, demonstrating involvement and support of all constituencies.
- ***Organizational capacity***. A demonstration that the organization has the capacity to carry out the restructuring effort, including resources available and climate for change.
- ***Implementation plan***. A description of the goals for the three years of the project and a detailed action plan for the first year, including a budget.

A Steering Committee of representatives from the state department, the University of Maine system, the state teachers' association, the Regional Laboratory, and the Maine Center for Educational Services guided the project. However, the Committee did not set the restructuring agenda for the applicants. It provided visionary and technical help, through workshops with experts, but each project was tailored "to meet the needs and the values of the community where it is developed."

Massachusetts

Proud of its local control and forward-thinking education system in general, Massachusetts did not jump on the bandwagon of reform as it rolled onto the scene in the early 1980s. In 1985, it enacted several new programs that promoted excellence, primarily through discretionary grants. ·These included local school improvement grants, equal educational opportunity grants to districts spending less than 85 percent of the average per-pupil expenditure, professional development grants to supplement compensation for teachers, and the Horace Mann Grant program to provide bonuses of up to $2,500 per teacher for up to six percent of a district's teachers.

> **"The task for states is not to select the single best approach. Rather, the fundamental task for states is to sort out which mix of control strategies, rewards, and sanctions will contribute most effectively to productivity improvements according to each particular state's circumstances."**
>
> **Michael Cohen**
> **National Governors' Association**

In January 1988, the state enacted the Carnegie Schools program, a three-year strategy to restructure education in individual schools by empowering teachers and other professional staff to design a new structure for their school, based on the vision of the Carnegie Forum in *A Nation Prepared.*

A Technical Advisory Committee at the state level worked on criteria, shared the planning with administrators and teachers through regional forums, sponsored information meetings, and made the final selection of seven sites (fewer than originally anticipated because of budget considerations). Each site has received small planning grants, or a total of $210,000 for the sites.

What are the processes and outcomes the Carnegie Schools program is seeking? They include:

- Identifying educational goals that address the unique situations at each school.

- Experimenting with the length of the school day and year.
- Decentralizing decisionmaking by moving it to the building and classroom.
- Increasing the constituencies represented in school decisionmaking.
- Revising teaching methods.
- Promoting collegial relationships.
- Providing teaching strategies responsive to a range of learning styles among students.
- Designing creative ways of grouping students.
- Changing ways the school organizes and delivers curriculum.
- Increasing opportunities for teacher development and advancement.
- Providing teachers with opportunities to exercise new leadership roles and responsibilities.
- Reducing bureaucracy.
- Developing effective alliances among schools, businesses, and community agencies.
- Integrating technology more effectively into the school program.
- Creating a more positive atmosphere for learning.

These are examples, says Barbara Berns, director of the Massachusetts Department of Education Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation. But over time, a Carnegie School "would be expected to have a plan that implements organizational change in a number of areas."

Commissioner of Education Harold Raynolds, Jr., who was personally involved in shaping the legislation and developing the Carnegie Schools criteria, believes the program is "for schools with a strong commitment to shared decisionmaking, and schools that can secure and demonstrate support from the district level, the school-based community, and their local associations. It is for schools that have a vision of where they want to be in four years and believe that change in school organization can lead to change in student outcomes."

Washington

Schools throughout Washington state competed for the first round of the legislature-approved program of Schools for the 21st Century. The final 21 winners--15 schools, four entire school districts, and two partial districts--pledged to restructure their programs, along the lines of the Carnegie Forum report, with the ultimate aim to improve student performance. The legislation, specifically:

- Provides schools an opportunity to develop new methods and procedures, through the temporary waiver of certain state statutes or administrative rules.
- Provides selected public schools or school districts with the technology, services, and staff essential to enhance learning.

Supplemental funding for the schools was anticipated to be about $2.5 million (although intitial funding totaled less, about $1.7 million).

Over a six-year experimental period, the schools and districts are to institute changes that give more autonomy to teachers and improve collaboration between schools and their communities. Other sites are expected to be chosen later, as money becomes available.

A network of 23 schools in Seattle, for example, is establishing a professional development center and networks to help them reorganize school schedules, involve parents, create smaller classes through using former categorical specialists as regular classroom teachers, provide autonomy to school staff on everything from curriculum to hiring staff, and improve the use of technology.

Said Ronn Robinson, assistant to Governor Booth Gardner for education, when the initial sites were announced: "We decided to take the risk and say to the local schools, 'This baby is yours.' The idea is that, if the schools have bought into their own plans for reform, they'll make them work."

Through trial and error,

school districts across the

country are learning how complex

the restructuring of schools can be, but also

the tremendous leadership potential that exists in schools....

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT VIEWPOINT

The school district establishes the context within which restructuring of education must take place. It either enables and enhances what the local school and its teachers, principal, students, and community can do, or it stands in the way. It is the bridge between national and state policies and what happens in classrooms. It is where the restructuring becomes possible.

Trying to separate out the various responsibilities and roles of school districts in restructuring efforts is like trying to distinguish "separate slices from melted mozarella cheese," says Patricia Mitchell, director of technical assistance for the National Association of State Boards of Education. Mitchell directed a study requested by New Mexico state education officials and funded by the Matsushita Foundation, Inc., to identify state policies that help or hinder the fundamental changes desired by innovative school districts.

The NASBE report is based on extensive interviews in Santa Fe and two much smaller districts, Zuni and Tatum. While it looked at the juxtaposition of state policies with local district efforts, it also said much about the vitality of leadership in local school districts, no matter how small, when a few people share a vision.

Districts want a strong sense of direction from the state as to where they should head, Mitchell discovered, but they also want to be the ones who decide the best way to get there. Because of the open climate in New Mexico, one administrator commented that "I have never felt so optimistic about education in the 20 years I have been involved. I feel that something can really happen now."

The goals set by the local district educators Mitchell interviewed defined the critical elements of a learning community:

- ***Restructure the curriculum*** so that long-term outcomes emphasize thinking, rather than memorizing facts.
- ***Rethink how instruction is delivered*** so that the structure of schools focuses on success, not failure, of students.
- ***Help teachers improve their instructional strategies*** so that they can succeed in teaching students with different learning styles, rates, and levels of motivation.
- ***Create a school community that addresses the many needs of children and youth***, needs that affect how students learn and progress.

Recent reforms in New Mexico--and elsewhere across the country--have permanently changed the roles of local school districts and their relationships with state policymakers. At the same time, they also have changed the relationships of school district policymakers to individual schools. Mitchell says the changing environment between states and local districts should be viewed as "a new partnership." The same is true for the relationship between school district leadership and that of local schools. The opportunities for creative leadership are wide open.

Changing from Traditional Approaches

Traditionally, observes Michael Cohen of the National Governors' Association, the school district's orientation has been toward procedure.[1] According to Cohen, it should change to performance. "The primary orientation of school staff should be to make judgments about how to select, organize, and use available resources to achieve desired ends," he says. "In such an arrangement, interaction between the central office and individual schools would mainly focus on whether schools are achieving district goals, rather than whether they are following district guidelines."

To begin changing priorities, several issues should be addressed by school districts, according to Cohen, including:

- ***Deciding which functions should be delegated to or shared with individual school buildings***. School boards will have legal authority over most of the areas, such as goal setting, curriculum development, grouping and tracking policies, or personnel policies, but these also are essential tasks that schools must control if they are to develop programs of improvement uniquely meeting their needs.

  School districts must maintain cohesion and some commonalities among schools, but they also must promote diversity. One way to do this, as outlined by Cohen, would be for schools to establish annual goals within the framework of district goals. The district's responsibility would be to review and approve the plans, provide technical assistance and training to support the school planning process, monitor implementation, and evaluate the progress.
- ***School districts must provide structures for effective school-site decisionmaking***, with thoughtful consideration as to roles and responsibilities. Giving teachers greater discretion, for example, does not mean that the autonomy "takes place behind the closed door of the classroom," says Cohen. Decisions should be made collegially but with the primary focus on classroom teaching and not dissipated in efforts to manage the entire school.
- ***Parents and community members must be given a greater voice in school decisionmaking***. Districts should determine the scope of

authority for school-site councils of teachers, administrators, parents, and community members, suggests Cohen, "and help work out ways that increased professional participation and greater community involvement can be mutually reinforcing."

- ***Districts also may want to alter traditional assignment patterns,*** extending their support of decisionmaking to allow students, parents, and teachers greater choice in their selection of schools. This would create higher commitment to a school's mission, he says.
- ***Districts will need to change their evaluation systems.*** Teachers should be evaluated on how well "they are able to make appropriate instructional decisions and judgments in order to accomplish results with their students," rather than the current assessments based on specific behaviors and instructional practices.
- ***The collective bargaining process will need to be reassessed.*** It has tended to increase bureaucratic control by "making teaching work more rationalized, more highly specified and inspected." (Examples given below indicate that contracts can be designed to promote flexibility at the school site.)

"Successfully restructuring the education system and providing greater discretion to individual schools," Cohen says, "must occur in a policy framework that establishes long-range goals, attracts and retains high quality personnel, assures that resources are adequately targeted to students with greatest need, and generally makes success at the school-site level possible."

Further, the role of the district level extends beyond policies to persuasion. School boards and district leadership need to strengthen ties to the community in order to advocate for education and youth and to promote community understanding of the changes needed.

Early Lessons

It is premature to count up successful restructuring efforts. With the education community only recently coming to something approaching a common definition of what the term means, only a few school districts, considering the more than 15,000 operating districts in the country, have taken even some of the steps outlined by Cohen. But enough of them have built upon stable relationships between unions and school administrations or a tradition of risk taking and change to provide ideas about how to get from here to there.

What the "Pioneers" Learned. Studying the process of restructuring in four school districts (and summarizing the process in five others), Jane David and other researchers of the Center for Policy Research in Education at Rutgers University found three major themes in the actions of the districts. The districts were Jefferson County, Kentucky; Poway, California; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Dade County, Florida. As described in their report, *"Restructuring in Progress: Lessons from Pioneering Districts,"*[2] the common themes were:

Theme 1: The goal of restructuring is long-term, comprehensive change guided by a conception of schools as stimulating workplaces and learning environments. Restructuring is not just adding or changing a part of the system. It is fundamental change. Districts take different routes or invent their own, making risk-taking and experimentation important components of their process.

Example: "In Dade County, every school received a copy of the report of the Carnegie Forum's Task Force on Teaching as a Profession; in Jefferson County and Poway, staff cite corporate and management books and articles, including the work of Peter Drucker and Tom Peters. In addition to communicating new ideas, this flow of information and images has resulted in a common language throughout each district. In Jefferson County, 'every teacher a leader and every student a success' is heard from one end of the district to the other."

Theme 2: School staff need the skills, authority, and time to create new roles and environments appropriate to their situations. Both teachers and administrators need opportunities for professional development. By simply increasing autonomy and flexibility without access to new knowledge and skills, school-level planning can become an empty, yet time-consuming, process.

Example: "Jefferson County and Poway leaders have similar views of professional development. They believe it is important to: (1) create a climate in which ongoing professional development is viewed as desirable and even prestigious; (2) provide new knowledge and skills that teachers and administrators want and need, not the latest fad; (3) connect all professional development to student learning; and (4) invest substantial resources in professional development."

Theme 3: Restructuring requires building new coalitions of support and new conceptions of accountability. School districts actively participate in creating new coalitions, often bringing former adversaries together. They do this by focusing on the educational goals of restructuring and by developing a shared set of expectations among superintendents, school boards, teacher unions, and their communities.

Example: "Jefferson County's approach, and that of other districts, places accountability in a different light. Rather than a means of external control, accountability is a vehicle for assessing progress that is of interest to all. This does not preclude district leaders from rewarding success or penalizing failure; in fact, some are already built into the restructuring process--for example, removing principals who are unwilling to share their authority with teachers. But the emphasis is on a shared sense of professional responsibility for success. In Dade County, for example, pilot schools create their own formative evaluation plans with the understanding that summative judgments including test scores will not occur during the first three years. At the same time the district tracks various school-level indicators, including grade point averages, detentions, teacher absenteeism, and staff turnover."

What Restructuring Districts do

Make long-term commitment to comprehensive change
  -guided by goals not prescriptions
  -characterized by many reinforcing strategies and steps
Communicate goals, guiding images, and information
  -create a language for change and a focus on student learning
  -have direct communication between schools and top leaders
Encourage experimentation and risk-taking
  -begin with schools that volunteer
  -support with waivers from constraining rules
Demonstrate and promote shared decisionmaking

-involve staff in developing goals and values
-limit meetings to action items

CREATE NEW STRUCTURES

Participate actively in building new alliances
- -cooperative agreements with teachers' unions
- -new joint ventures with foundations, advocacy groups, businesses, universities

Devolve authority to schools and to teachers
- -give schools staffing and materials budgets
- -provide incentives for principals to involve teachers in school-site decisions

Promote creation of new roles
- -teachers as leaders, evaluators, curriculum developers, facilitators of student learning
- -administrators as facilitators of teachers, instructional leaders

Develop and demonstrate new models during the summer
- --for restructured programs for staff and students
- -support teachers to develop curriculum and materials

Create new forms of accountability
- -match comprehensive nature and timeline of restructuring
- -use multiple measures including those defined by schools

PROVIDE SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE

Provide a broad range of opportunities for professional development
- -on and off-site assistance to teachers and administrators
- -include techniques in management, clinical supervision, instruction and content

Provide time for staff to assume new roles and responsibilities
- -time for planning, working with colleagues and site decision-making
- -release time for professional development activities

Seek supplementary sources of funding and assistance
- -state and federal grants
- -local businesses, private foundations, individuals

"Restructuring in Progress:
Lessons from Pioneering Districts"
Center for Policy Research in Education

Tackling Multiple Changes. Another study of school districts willing to tackle multiple changes describes the experiences of those participating in Project Education Reform. This is a network of districts selected by their governors (two districts each in eight states) believed most capable of carrying out the reforms outlined by the National Governors' Association in its report, *Time for Results*. The U.S. Department of Education was a partner, collaborating with the governors on eliminating inhibiting regulations. In exchange for less regulation, the districts were asked to improve their programs and boost student achievement. None of the districts received additional funding, but the U.S. Department of Education provided technical assistance and consultation.

What were the changes suggested by the governors' report? Thirteen recommendations provided a starting place for the participating districts. The districts were asked to select at least three from this list:

- Redesigning schools to create more productive working and learning environments, such as greater teacher decisionmaking.
- Changing the structure of the teaching career, for example, by linking pay to professional competence and responsibilities.
- Developing a system to evaluate administrators effectively and accurately.
- Creating training programs for school administrators that involve partnerships with colleges, state or regional academies, business, and schools.
- Providing for "school-based management"--allowing schools to make more of their own decisions, then holding them accountable for results.
- Involving parents more actively in their children's education.
- Establishing early childhood programs for "at-risk" three- and four-year-olds.
- Providing mothers and fathers of preschool children and students with information on how to be successful parents.
- Designing a reliable and valid way to assess student performance so that deficiencies can be corrected.
- Establishing alternative programs for dropouts to attain basic skills and complete high school.
- Developing plans to buy and use educational technologies.

- Establishing training programs to teach the staff how to use technology to solve instructional and management problems.
- Sharing educational facilities, particularly with community groups providing day care and latchkey services.

What They Learned About Barriers to Reform. After two years of Project Education Reform, a 1988 report--*Experiences in School Improvement* issued by the U.S. Department of Education--gave it mixed reviews.[3] Every district reported benefits from their participation, but the superintendents also found persistent barriers to reform. Among them were:

- The lack of time. "The problem with many districts is that they do reform piecemeal," said James Wilsford of Orangeburg, South Carolina, the 1989 American Association of School Administrators Superintendent of the Year. "There is no comprehensive plan."
- Unrealistic expectations that the reforms would not cost money.
- Continuing problems with state and federal laws and regulations.
- Outmoded testing programs.
- Negative attitudes by the community and staffs. "Reform ideas often are resisted," observed Robert Henley, superintendent at Independence, Missouri. "So, sometimes you have to be authoritarian. You have to say, 'Here's what we are going to do'.... Oh, you might take a little admendment here, and a little one there. But most people try to add ideas that make it more comfortable to them and make it less of a change. So, I try to keep the idea pure. The superintendent shepherds it through the group, so that when you get the plan built, it's still the same idea you began with."

Recommendations of the Superintendents. The superintendents' experiences led them to make a number of recommendations to speed up the change process. These included:

- ***Results, not process.*** Laws, rules, and regulations should place more emphasis on what students achieve and less on how they do so. "I believe in regulations," said Superintendent George Cannon of Little

Rock, Arkansas, "but when the schools can prove themselves effective, then many of them shouldn't be necessary."

- ***Research, evaluation, and development money.*** This should be provided by the state to school districts on a matching basis.
- ***Teacher certification.*** Governors need to break down interstate teacher certification barriers, which prevent school districts from hiring the best staff available.
- ***Categorical funds.*** Federal and state officials should move away from categorical funding, with the understanding that local districts will continue to meet the needs of students for whom the categorical funds are intended.
- ***School boards.*** School board members need training on school change; and federal, state, and local authorities should encourage well-qualified citizens to serve on school boards. While saying he was fortunate in having a progressive board, Henley commented that those superintendents saddled with a school board that really isn't "with it" spend all their time and effort "running around chasing geese. It's just a complete waste of time, and reform is out of the question. You are just happy to keep the school district going."
- ***Sharing ideas for reform.*** All levels of governance should develop better ways of disseminating information on effective educational programs and practices. Educators, said the superintendents, seldom share their ideas with other districts.
- ***School-based management.*** Principals should be allowed to make more decisions on budget, curriculum, and personnel.
- ***Paperwork.*** Reduce it.
- ***Money.*** Many of the more far-reaching reforms cannot be accomplished without additional funding.
- ***Deregulation.*** Districts and individual schools that meet mutually agreed-upon standards should be exempt from some laws and regulations.
- ***Staff development.*** Each state should develop a plan that analyzes existing staff development resources and suggests what new ones are needed to produce change in schools.
- ***Partnerships with business, higher education, and foundations.*** These should be strengthened and increased.

- ***Measuring reform.*** The federal level should sponsor a study of indicators of school effectiveness, and states should examine the effect of tests and numerical data on reform.
- ***Media relations.*** The media should be viewed and used by superintendents as a potentially constructive force, even when the information conveyed by various media is not positive.
- ***Use of dissemination and technical assistance services.*** School administrators should draw upon federally funded technical assistance projects, such as regional laboratories, to expand their sources of information and help beyond internal expertise.

"You want to make sure you always have room for thoughtful discussion instead of constantly reacting; you want to hold back that tide of opinion pushing you to react immediately, and to act when you understand better what the effects of a given reform will be. Remember, school board members generally are scared; they're under heavy criticism. In fact, many of them are delighted to see state legislatures taking steps they wouldn't have had the guts to take at the local level."

Floretta McKenzie
Former Superintendent, District of Columbia
***Harper's*, February 1986**

A comment summing up the experience of the superintendents with Project Education Reform comes from Jim Rollins, superintendent at Springdale, Arkansas:

> One of the great barriers is that we are products of a very traditionally oriented system, and it's hard for us to shake out of the mold and challenge ourselves to look at some things differently. We say we are committed to something new, but there's a growth process needed to become comfortable with it. So it takes a little time and a willingness on the part of the board, the superintendent, the principal, and the teachers to push back the blinds and say, 'Hey, this is a possibility. We really need to give this a chance. We're willing to take some risks here to put this in place.'

The superintendents participating in the project included George Cannon, Little Rock, Arkansas; Jim Rollins, Springdale, Arkansas; Jack Blendinger, Mapleton, Colorado; Robert Cito, Montrose, Colorado; Russell Thompson, Columbia, Missouri; Robert Henley, Independence, Missouri; Terrance Holmes, Timberlane Regional School District, New Hampshire; Edgar Melanson, White Mountains Regional School District, New Hampshire; Harry Galinsky, Paramus, New Jersey; James Caulfield, Union, New Jersey; James Wilsford, Orangeburg, South Carolina; Harold Patterson, Spartanburg, South Carolina; Willie Herenton, Memphis, Tennessee; Robert Smallridge, Oak Ridge, Tennessee; James Bergera, Provo, Utah; and John Bennion, Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Urban Agenda

Undoubtedly, major restructuring of schools is occurring more often in large, inner-city districts because these are where many of the most difficult problems exist--those that often do not respond readily to traditional strategies for improvement.

The current dire situation of many urban schools did not simply spring full-bloom upon the scene. More than 15 years ago education historian David Tyack of Stanford University, in his seminal book, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*,[4] called for alternatives now being considered. "Effective reform today will require some reassessment of some cherished convictions about the possibility of finding a one best system, about the value of insulating the school from community influence, about the irrelevance of ethnic differences," he said. "To succeed in improving the schooling of the dispossessed, educators are increasingly realizing that they need to share power over educational decisionmaking with representatives of the urban communities they serve." That was in 1974.

In 1988, Gene Maeroff, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, after visiting urban high schools around the country, wrote in *Phi Delta Kappan*[5] that "a reform movement that was supposed to improve public education has been largely irrelevant to the needs of urban minority students. The reforms have either totally bypassed big-city school districts or have produced changes that lengthened the time for instruction or raised requirements for diplomas without addressing the underlying circumstances that lead to failure for these students."

The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, reached similar conclusions after studying the effect of recent reforms in four large-city school districts. The reforms tended to be traditional--requiring tests for graduation, increasing academic course requirements, tightening attendance rules and eligibility rules for extracurricular activities, and requiring or making available remedial classes.

Testifying before Congress in March 1989 on the study, Eleanor Chelimsky, Assistant Comptroller General, said the reforms had been neither a disaster nor a boon for the performance of low-achieving students.[6] "We did not find that the reforms we examined improved education outcomes a great deal," she said. "Prior progress was not maintained for some disadvantaged groups, at least over the short term. The big question, then, is the longer term."

Making Headway. Another recent study of urban school districts, by the RAND Corporation, concentrated on school districts where headway was being made among disadvantaged student populations.[7] The districts in this study included Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Miami, Memphis, and San Diego.

The researchers' findings carved out a specific role for superintendents. No improvement effort can succeed, concluded Paul Hill and others, without an active school superintendent, but the superintendent need not dominate the process. Coalitions of the business community, local political leaders, the teachers' union, and the superintendent support the most promising reform processes. Further, the most effective superintendents create a public mandate for improvement by being clear about educational priorities and basing them on broad public consultation.

As an example of the leadership mode found in these city districts, the study notes that Tom Payzant, superintendent at San Diego, leads by example:

> He is credited with raising the intellectual tone of the school district, encouraging innovators to hope that their ideas will be heard, and serving as the city's advocate for poor and minority

children. He insists on the full publication of test scores by school and students' ethnicity to focus public attention on needs for improvement. Payzant and the school board have continued to use the superintendent's job description and performance evaluation as a framework for discussing school system goals and priorities. Lower-level administrators are also supervised by openly negotiated annual job objectives and evaluation, both keyed to the district's goals and priorities.

Other findings of the RAND study of city districts included:

- Despite many problems, some big-city school districts "have created processes that promise to marshal the necessary ideas, funds, and person-power necessary for educational improvement."
- A failing urban school system can be turned around only if the entire community unites on its behalf.
- Choice plans that encourage parents to seek alternatives to public schooling are not necessary for improvement of big-city schools.
- Communitywide educational improvement strategies depend on broad community support outside and restructuring of schools on the inside. In many urban schools, the former is more developed than the latter.
- The public supports improvements that are long-range and not quick solutions.
- Involvement of powerful community actors reduces the status and independence of school administrators and the school board.
- Business leaders can provide several functions, but the most important may be "in raising educational problems to the top of the local public agenda."
- Change needs the cooperation of powerful, well-led teachers' unions.

Another Set of Priorities. The Carnegie Foundation summarized the plight of urban schools in a report, *An Imperiled Generation--Saving the Urban Schools,*[9] that argued for four priorities:

- ***Affirm that every student can succeed.*** Teachers, too, often stop believing in their students.

- ***Build an effective governance arrangement.*** Schools are viewed as units "to be controlled rather than inspired.... Educational leadership must be school based."
- ***Introduce in every school a comprehensive program of renewal.*** This should affect structure and curriculum and the capabilities of educators within a school to improve them.
- ***Create a network of support beyond the school***, including with higher education and business/industry.

The Carnegie Foundation report, among other recommendations, called for a new National Urban Schools Program, on the scale and enthusiasm of the Rural Extension Act years ago, that would place federal resources behind multiple strategies to improve urban education.

Many ideas for urban schools already are at work, not all of them restructuring in any sense, but often they are laying the basis for further change. The Center for Policy Research in Education summarizes these efforts in a report by Jeannie Oakes, *Improving Inner-City Schools: Current Directions in Urban District Reform.*[9] Oakes found clusters of changes taking place, such as early childhood programs, social supports, and efforts to use effective schools research. However, no one knows yet if the strategies will be successful with inner-city children. Yet, there are "promising strategies for urban districts." These will:

- Build capacity at local school sites.
- Provide school autonomy and flexibility in designing and implementing improvement plans.
- Take a broad rather than a narrow view of curriculum and instruction.
- Reorganize classroom teaching and learning to promote urban children's positive self-perceptions, effort, and school performance.
- Provide real-life incentives for urban children to achieve at school.
- Coordinate efforts with the self-interests of other institutions and agencies to provide social and economic opportunities beyond the reach of the school.

"These strategies are not out of reach," says Oakes. "Nevertheless, these promising strategies diverge from traditional urban school practice, and their widespread implementation will require urban educators to assume new roles and responsibilities and to restructure schools and learning."

Ideas in Motion at the School District Level

East Baton Rouge Parish School System, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

In September 1988, the East Baton Rouge Parish School System launched a two-pronged experiment that combines school-based management and parental choice. Approved by a federal court as a one-year trial, the pilot program is operating in 12 of the district's 100 schools; if successful, it will be implemented in all schools within four years.

Basically, each pilot school has a school advisory council of 10 to 12 members including the principal, teachers, parents, community representatives and students at the secondary pilot sites. Each council developed a needs assessment, mission statement, and action plan. Teachers and principals were given an opportunity to remain at the school, contingent upon completing an orientation and training program for site-based management. The district pledged extensive staff development and principal training. Some discretion over financial resources has been given to the schools, and each school was encouraged to develop a curricular specialty (magnet).

Schools kept their attendance zones, but vacancies were advertised systemwide, and any student could apply.

"Because of changes in society and demands on schools, it has become imperative to seek new directions," says Superintendent Bernard Weiss. He noted that the school system, despite eight years of intensive efforts, has not yet achieved the integration it had hoped for.

"School-based management is not a panacea," he says, "but it is one way of improving community participation and dealing with better use of limited resources."

New Orleans, Louisiana

Further down the Mississippi River, the New Orleans Public Schools formed a partnership with the Southern Coalition for Educational Equity to improve instruction in the system's lowest achieving schools. The schools all volunteered for the project and had to demonstrate principal and teacher commitment to instructional improvement.

The special features of the New Orleans project are (1) the creation of a unique partnership with an outside advocacy group and the school district, the teachers' union, and the community; (2) management of the project by a team of four experienced teachers formerly with the school system; and (3) a highly successful Summer Program that models itself on restructuring ideas.

The Summer Program, grown from six teachers five years ago to 20 teachers and 500 students in 1988, provides long, uninterrupted blocks of instructional time for reading; extra resources and support for teachers; a professional and collegial working environment; and an atmosphere that places high value on academic growth and encourages high expectations and respect for teachers. According to the study, "Restructuring in Progress: Lessons from Pioneering Districts," it is a catalyst for renewal and change throughout the school year. The project is run by teachers themselves at the seven participating schools.

"What's best is to see the remarkable change among the kids," says Superintendent Everett J. Williams. "That's what keeps the teachers going, to see the large amount of change and growth with the kids in the programs redesigned by teachers."

However, the early lack of participation by school principals hampered efforts, Williams admits. The school district now sponsors monthly seminars for principals led primarily by peers from outside the district to, in Williams' words, "get the principals just as excited when they see the changes brought about among the children." Adds Barbara McPhee, director of the project for the school district: "Principals need to get their hands into the water before they can learn to swim. We've got a lot of work to do."

Memphis, Tennessee

The Memphis school system, in the opinion of Superintendent W.W. Herenton was "clearly at a crossroads." Schools were being asked to do more and more with less and less and, at the same time, face the realization that conventional approaches for improving education were not working with the school system's largely disadvantaged school population. "Maintaining the status quo will not ensure school success," he said when announcing plans for a major overhaul of the school system.

Herenton's bold Comprehensive Educational Reform Plan contains three principal components--administrative reorganization, deregulated schools, and restructuring. Specifically, it would:

- ***Select eight schools to comprise a deregulated school district reporting directly to the superintendent.*** These schools would be exempt from many of the guidelines restricting school program and operations and, in return, would establish school-based decisionmaking; assume greater responsibility for providing instructional leadership; and develop local programs and services.

The staff would be employed year-round, and schools with technology initiatives or which choose to extend the school day and year would receive additional funds.

- ***Begin planning and training for school-based decisionmaking in 1989-90 for implementation in 1990-91***. School decisions would be in the hands of local councils of community residents, parents, the principal, teachers and other staff members.
- ***Review the curriculum and expand alternative instructional programs,*** supported by extensive staff development.
- ***Establish six schools of choice in the 1989-90 school year***.
- ***Begin a comprehensive early intervention*** initiative affecting programs and personnel training for pre-school through grade 3.
- ***Strengthen and expand parent involvement.***

Herenton is counting on these major improvements that are aimed at specifically helping a largely disadvantaged student body to garner community support, particularly among business leaders, in order to finance improvements. The deregulation part of his plan also will require legislative exemptions. "We must build new partnerships, chart new courses, and create new opportunities for our youth," he says.

Chicago, Illinois

Former Secy. of Education William Bennett conferred upon the Chicago public schools, on one of his visits to the Windy City, the label of being one of the worst school systems in the country.

Of urban districts, it certainly faces significant problems. Almost one-half of the students drop out before graduating; two-thirds of the seniors read below the national average; and on college entrance examinations, the city's high schools had 59 of the 61 lowest average scores in the Chicago metropolitan area.

The "cure"--set in motion by such dismal statistics, by repeated teacher strikes, and by a strong, united push by advocacy and parent groups in the city--is one of the most radical restructuring plans in the country. Approved by the Illinois General Assembly in the last few minutes of its session ending in July 1988 and signed off on by Governor James Thompson after some compromising with legislators, the Chicago

School Reform Act gives parents and staff of each of the 590 schools in the district the power to make all of the important decisions. For example:

- It establishes local school councils, which can hire the principal, negotiate the principal's contract, evaluate the principal, develop a school improvement plan that sets priorities, and decide on how to spend the school's budget, within city-wide rules.
- It gives new controls to principals. Principals will hire staff without regard to seniority; a teacher rated unsatisfactory can be fired by the principal after a 45-day probationary period; the auxiliary staff (engineers, food service manager, and their staffs) will be accountable to school principals. However, principals no longer have lifetime tenure.
- It provides for Teacher Advisory Committees at every school to help the principal and local school council shape the school's curriculum and improvement plan.
- Each local school council will place a member on the District Council, which will monitor local schools and select the district superintendent.
- The current board is to be terminated and a new board appointed by the mayor from candidates screened by a Citizens' Nominating Committee. Their systemwide responsibilities will include setting learning objectives for the whole system, operating special education and bilingual education, and supervising bus service and meal programs. The central district budget will be cut by $40 million and those funds passed on to the schools.
- An Oversight Authority will be established by the mayor and governor for five years to make sure school administrators carry out the plan.

> **"Traditionally, teachers go to workshops where they are sold improvement and training, but they don't want improvement and training; they want intellectual content."**
>
> **Phillip Schlechty**
> **Director, Gheens Professional**
> **Preparation Academy**
> **Jefferson County, Kentucky**

A coalition of 40 business, community, and parent organizations, the Alliance for Better Chicago Schools, drafted the bill and pushed for its passage. However, the principal architect was Designs for Change, a Chicago research and advocacy group. It is spearheading the development of the school councils and their training. Donald Moore, executive director of Designs for Change, calls the reform act "the most far-reaching program to restructure a big city school system in the last 30 years."

Dade County, Florida

Dade County, Florida, has its share of issues for an urban district--large, constant influx of immigrant students; significant number of students who do not speak English; overcrowding; and lack of money. Undaunted, however, the school district's leadership is trying out a fundamentally different way of running schools.

The fourth largest school system in the country, with 255,000 students and growing at the rate of 10,000 to 15,000 students a year, Dade County enjoys a long-standing cooperative relationship between management and the teachers' union. The superintendent and school board regard good teachers as the heart of improved schools, and good environments as the key to attracting and hiring good teachers.

A joint management-union team initially selected 33 schools, from 55 applicants, to participate in school-based management, along the lines contained in the report of the Carnegie Forum's Task Force on teaching as a profession. There now are almost 100 participating schools, and about 260 more are expected to sign up to participate within three years.

These are some of the changes being realized in the pilot schools:

- ***Budgeting.*** The schools receive the same level of funds as other schools but in a lump sum, giving them great flexibility over how 90 percent of their monies will be spent (compared to only about 10 percent of the budgets in other schools).
- ***Waivers.*** Schools can request waivers from district or state regulations through a committee established expressly for this concern (e.g., to hire non-certified teachers with special talents, to allow gifted students to substitute an elective for physical education).

- ***Governance***. Schools can set up whatever governing structure they want, so long as teachers are significantly involved in planning and decisionmaking (one school added a seventh period for planning without additional compensation, another replaced an assistant principal with two teachers who focus on counseling and discipline).
- ***Staff development***. Each school receives more than $6,000 for staff development, in addition to a three-day school improvement conference for teams of principals and teachers.

While the three-year School-Based Management/Shared Decision-Making program did not begin until 1987, some immediate effects are obvious, according to the study by the Center for Policy Research in Education. Participating schools all have new governance structures, they have been granted dozens of waivers, and staff are exercising their new authority in various ways.

"No one argues that school-based management is easy," says the center's study. "Teachers are spending much more time on top of an already time-consuming job. But at the same time, they are more enthusiastic and feel more control. Principals are also spending more time on the job but understand that sharing their authority with teachers (and in some schools with parents, students, and community members) is a top priority of the district leadership and leads to creative strategies that best meet the needs of their students and school community."

The center also notes that the central administration of the district is committed to bottom-up restructuring and will not pass judgment on the plan until the pilot stage is over. Says Gerald Dreyfuss, assistant superintendent and director of the project: "The whole purpose of this approach has been to improve education by empowering schools to be more responsive and adaptive to change." He admits, however, that "the most difficult part of the project has been to improve the ability of people to work and solve problems together. We have instituted Quality Circles. We use various methods. The key to the program is a changed attitude. For example, before we undertake peer evaluation of teachers or of principals, we have four days of training."

Dreyfuss has learned from the first two years with the project that: "It takes time to make it a cooperative effort. It is a matter of a change of attitudes by all parties--union, mid-management, school board members, as well as principals, teachers, and parents at the individual school level. We take retreats, even with hundreds of teachers."

A strong, cooperative union also has been a vital force in the district's success with school-site restructuring, Dreyfuss says. "The plan cannot work if the union is antagonistic, and it takes strong leadership to work effectively in the face of change." He also concedes that much of the success of the project may be due to the rapid expansion of the school system. "Our project has flattened out the administrative structure," he explains, because the system is growing at the bottom so rapidly that fewer at the top are doing more.

An additional byproduct of the restructuring effort, says Dreyfuss, is its ability to pull parents and children back from the private school system. "I've been amazed," he says, "at seeing how readily the white middleclass parents are busing their children or operating car pools, even into some rather dreadful neighborhoods." Dade County has now asked

Johnson City's Jumps

Not all school restructuring efforts are of recent vintage.

For example, the Johnson City, New York, schools suffered under an inferiority complex for a long time. A "company town" of a shoe manufacturer, students had long been discouraged from considering college because of guaranteed jobs in the shoe factory, but when the manufacturing plant closed down almost a decade ago, families and schools had to consider different futures.

The school system, with 20 percent of the students receiving a free or reduced price lunch and an increasing Asian immigrant population, decided to go for maximums instead of minimums. It adopted mastery learning as a mode and became a well-recognized "outcomes driven" school district. Today, by the time students finish the eighth grade, at least 75 percent are a minimum of six months above grade level on standardized tests. Instruction is carefully crafted to the level of understanding of the material by students, but teachers can select the instructional style best suited for students.

Today, about 70 percent of the students earn a Regents' diploma, necessary if they wish to be admitted to the state's higher education system.

the whole country to participate in its restructuring effort. In 1989, superintendent Joe Fernandez announced a plan for Saturn Schools, a competitive program that will select the best ideas submitted from any group nationwide.

Tulsa's Teams

In Tulsa, Okla., when former Superintendent Larry Zenke took the reins in 1976, he brought with him an idea about shared decisionmaking. Toward Educational And Management Success (TEAMS) incorporates many of the features of devolved authority being used in restructuring efforts. It took five years to get the school system's staff comfortable with shared decisionmaking, but Zenke believed it was successful and expanded on the idea, adding teachers to his management team and involving parents and other citizens in major decisions.

The TEAMs approach helped the school system weather a dramatic decrease in enrollment and ensuing closing of school buildings, reduction in staff, and reorganization of grade levels in the schools. The decisionmaking process also designed the school district's response to desegregation, largely achieved through expansion of a voluntary magnet school program.

It seems, says Zenke, that now "the rest of the nation is awakening to the same concerns we saw in Tulsa" for greater involvement in the schools.

Hammond, Indiana

Hammond, Indiana, was one of the first school districts to create a school-site plan through the collective bargaining process. With 13,000 students, 25 schools, and an economy depressed by the closing of steel mills, the school district brought life to its education program through the School Improvement Process.

Teachers, administrators, parents, and students serve on design teams for the schools, and from these teams are drawn a core of 10 to 15 members, a majority of whom are teachers. Design teams are open to anyone interested; new core teams are formed around issues of interest to staff members.

The teams receive special training in communications and group dynamics because all decisions are made by "team consensus."

The core teams work on developing "visions" for their schools that lead to examinations of structure, curriculum, use of time, and other issues. Examples of the results of the team approach: one school rearranged the school day to give a 90-minute block of time to reading; the high school established a mentor program which releases two teachers half-time to work with their colleagues on improving classroom practices; an elementary school created a transitional first grade with a new instructional approach geared to children not developmentally ready for a traditional curriculum.

Launched with funding and outside consulting help from the Lilly Endowment and the Kettering Foundation, the Hammond program has experienced ups and downs, primarily because of changing leadership, but both the superintendent and union leaders report increased collaboration. "There's better communication, and the pool of expertise has been broadened," Superintendent David Dickson said in a *Phi Delta Kappan* article in January 1988. Thwarted by state rules on use of time, Dickson devised ways for the school improvement teams to meet and still fulfill requirements.

Jefferson County, Kentucky

The Jefferson County, Kentucky, schools have put a new phrase into the school restructuring vocabulary--that of "the professional development school."

Under the leadership of Phillip Schlechty, a researcher on teacher professionalism and president of the Center of Leadership and School Reform, the school system coordinates its restructuring efforts through the Gheens Professional Development Academy. In some ways, it provides the intellectual and research base for change that a university campus might do; but it is a home-grown adjunct of the county schools.

The academy's goal is restructuring--and to provide a national model for strategies to recruit and maintain a high quality professional staff. The major tool used in its efforts are the school system's professional development schools--models of not only exemplary instruction but also of induction of new teachers and administrators.

In Schlechty's view, restructuring of schools must benefit students, "or why do it?" Schools must provide a way "for every child to have a successful experience every day," which requires:

- Doing away with scope and sequence restraints in the curriculum.
- Building teams--no one can do everything for each child every day.
- Creating texture and richness to the curriculum. "The reasons parents need to breathe down the necks of third-graders to get them to read," says Schlechty, "is because the children's reading books are boring."
- Eliminating the "self-contaminating classroom"--schools need to exemplify collaborative learning, professionals and students need to understand that success always is problematic.

In the Jefferson County schools, the effort is not to identify exemplary schools but "to invent them." The ideas that go into building the invention begin with an attitude of students as knowledge workers, actively engaged in learning. The curriculum requires participation. Teachers become leaders, motivating students to work and providing them with the essential resources.

In 1986, Schlechty presented his plans for professional development to the school system's staff, inviting those schools where 51 percent of the professionals identified with the vision outlined to become part of the experiment. Within a year, teams from 24 schools were working with the Gheens Academy, as well as faculty from the University of Louisville and central office staff, to put the ideas into practice. They developed "beliefs" for a shared vision and shared decisionmaking; a success orientation for students; a results orientation that uses data for instructional improvement; flexibility in policies and procedures; and support that provides all staff with regular opportunities to evaluate, share decisionmaking, and enlist parent and community resources.

The catchy description of these professional development schools became places "where every leader is a teacher, every teacher is a leader, and every student is a success." For example, middle schools have been organized into mini-schools of no more than 150 students run by a team of five teachers who make all of the important decisions regarding curriculum, scheduling, and use of time. Two of the elementary schools are experimenting in multi-age grouping in which the same teacher stays with a group of students for several years. With the cooperation of the university, the schools have created "job descriptions" for student teachers that reflect specifically what they will be asked to do.

The Academy, largely funded by foundations, provides the core for these schools and professional renewal in the school system. As one study described it: "Looking more like an executive training center than a school district building, the Academy stands as a physical symbol of the importance of teachers and their professional growth." The Academy provides ongoing activities for teachers and administrators, as well as a center for curriculum development and an opportunity for intellectual stimulation. Professional staff not only are kept up-to-date on research and restructuring ideas, but they also reach across disciplines through the center activities and learn of relevant changes in the corporate world, for example.

According to the Center for Policy Research in Education study, teachers in the school system have a growing sense of professionalism, and administrators are taking advantage of new opportunities for growth. "In contrast to most 'reform' efforts which put pressures on staff to conform quickly to new standards," says the study, "the approach in the Jefferson County schools is to develop their human resources, which is a prerequisite to the improvement of teaching and learning.... Professional Development Schools are an 'invitation to invention,' and inventing new methods of accountability is a shared and evolving responsibility."

The Gheens Center, says Superintendent Don Ingwerson, "is just plain crucial" to the school district's restructuring efforts. "Our success, our innovation, has not been because of the buildings or the program but, rather, that the center involves people first and foremost." Because of the center, the people in the school system are "hungry for restructuring." It is taking place on three levels, according to Ingwerson:

- Participatory management at all levels.
- Site-based activities.
- A flattening of the pyramid of decisionmaking.

On this last point, Ingwerson explains how it happens: "I now have 150 principals reporting directly to me. When we started at the beginning of the school year, I told them that I just plain didn't have time to answer each phone call. We designated one person in each of our six departments to be my personal representative. If any of the 150 didn't get satisfaction from that person, then they were to call me. I just don't get the calls! And I told them that I could not evaluate each one personally. So they worked out a committee system, and we got the state to approve it to meet the evaluation requirements."

Ingwerson praises the center's ability to improve morale and motivate decisionmaking. The elementary principals, for example, decided to group themselves into 10 convocations of seven members. One peer is a facilitator for a month--someone whom you can call with a problem. Another peer is a convenor, setting the agenda for the month. It is at these meetings, says the superintendent, "that our school district goals are discussed--getting all students to perform at the 70th percentile on reading ability, for example."

This acceptance of responsibility also takes place with teachers in the classroom. According to Ingwerson, "We've decided that no student can fail. If the homework isn't done, the child may ask for an F, but it won't be given. The teachers take the child after school and work on the missing homework. They call the parents and explain the need for homework help, and they also inform the parents of the child staying late after school to get caught up."

Professional Practice by Another Name

The American Federation of Teachers calls the new framework in the Jefferson County schools by a slightly different name--professional practice schools--but the idea is the same. *Radius,* the publication of AFT's Center for Restructuring, devoted an issue to a description of this form of teacher professionalism, noting the differences between such a school and a traditional school.

The professional practice school, it says, is committed to learning as an active process for students and teachers, and to professional practice in teaching that is knowledge-based, reflective, and inquiring. As examples, it says: "Where traditional schools are characterized by adult isolation, professional practice schools ought to be characterized by collegiality. Where traditional schools are often guided by unexamined practice ('We've always done it this way'), professional practice schools ought to be guided by reflective practice."

Rochester, New York

"The hottest place in America" for educational reform, said U.S. News & World Report about the Rochester, New York, schools. The core of what is happening in this majority minority urban school system is the union contract, one in which teachers gave up some traditional bargaining chips for dramatic increases in salaries and the possibility of becoming a "lead teacher" with a salary of up to $70,000 a year.

Much of the Rochester plan for restructuring draws from the Carnegie Forum's report on teaching, *A Nation Prepared.* With its author, Marc Tucker, a part of the Rochester scene as director of the National Center on Education and The Economy and chief consultant to the Rochester efforts, the city's school system becomes, in effect, a national model of the Carnegie ideas.

In addition to a large boost in salaries over the three-year span of the bargaining contract (52 percent increase for beginning teachers, 40 percent increase for experienced teachers), the plan includes:

- A career ladder with four professional categories of intern, resident, professional, and lead teacher.
- Lead teachers who are mentors for their colleagues, as well as teaching half time.
- School-based planning and decisionmaking.
- District-wide choice for parents among the schools.
- Agreement by teachers to work a longer school year and expand an existing Home-Base Guidance program into all middle and high schools; it provides for each teacher to be personally responsible for counseling and general supervision to a group of 20 students

The Rochester teachers' union president is Adam Urbanski, who gives some perspectives on the few years' experience in Rochester and the likely early problems in trying to restructure schools:

- An immense tension between those wanting excellence and those wanting equity. Representatives of the minority community particularly do not trust what they see as "fads" that depart from giving minority children a traditional education, he says.
- Misreading of teacher skepticism as opposition to reforms. Teachers are not the greatest obstacles to change, he says, but they are skeptical of top-down reforms, "the gurus from out of town showing

slides." The words "empowerment" and "restructuring" have become meaningless to teachers, Urbanski says, because they are cliches. A much better word to use for the new view of professionalism is "enabling." Further, teachers find it hard to get enthusiastic about lofty reforms when they don't even have access to a copying machine, he adds.

> **"I understand that the change which leads to the restructuring of schools is complex and quite different from most change educators have discussed before. It involves fundamental questioning of traditional assumptions about the best way to organize our schools for teaching and learning. It leads us to raise questions about roles and responsibilities and find new answers to them. It requires us to acknowledge that education for our students can be a lot better, and our satisfaction with helping students learn can be much higher. It demands that we demonstrate both patience and persistence. We are not talking about a `quick fix' or `tinkering' with the system."**
>
> **Thomas Payzant**
> **Superintendent**
> **San Diego Public Schools**

- Demand for quick fixes. "I say that it takes time," Urbanski pleads, "but the reply is, 'That's nice, but you didn't say that when you took the money!'" The public needs to understand the difference between real change and charlatans, he says.
- A "guillotine" definition of accountability. In other words, "Off with your head if the change doesn't succeed." That attitude, according to Urbanski, "dooms every reform to success because there is no freedom to make mistakes."

Some of these same observations are made from the administrator's side. Manuel Rivera, deputy superintendent for strategic management, says that the change taking place "is not a process that occurs overnight. I fear that the community's expectations were for prompt results, and attitudes don't change quite that quickly."

The plan was implemented in December 1987, but it was the spring of 1989 before the school district announced guidelines on the school-based teams because it moved slowly, making sure each constituency was properly represented and had completed its own assessment of the school. The teams' plans will not be ready until the 1990-91 budget year.

A major problem, says Rivera, was the union's insistence that if each school is to be held accountable, then the teachers must "take ownership" of what happens to the students. Translated, that meant having a majority on a school's team. Consequently, the other constitutencies on the teams (parents, supervisor, etc.) had to arrive at a consensus--two of the three parents voting for an issue, for example--before the team could sign off on a topic.

Each step in the process is one of negotiation, says Rivera. For example, the Joint Governing Panel (five members from the central office and five from the union) had to resolve the "very sensitive issues" about performance appraisals and the distinctions between "resident" and "professional" status for teachers. That is, the distinctions between the different categories of teaching responsibilities. The school board is still working on the problem of who has the authority to do what under the system, according to Rivera.

San Diego, California

It was billed as "Super Saturday," but instead of a sale or a special program for students, the San Diego schools drew more than 200 teachers and principals to an all-day meeting in April 1988 to decide the future of the school system. A blue-ribbon commission several months earlier had released its outline of "Which Way to the Future?" for the city's schools. One of the five major recommendations of the report urged the school system to begin a "fundamental restructuring of schools."

Superintendent Thomas Payzant appointed a Leadership Group with equal representation of teachers and administrators, as well as parent and community representatives, to guide the change process.

The Leadership Group, in cooperation with local higher education institutions, the San Diego County Office of Education, and the Association of California School Administrators, sponsored a series of seminars to gain an understanding of school restructuring and what was involved. These seminars brought together officials from school systems already in the process of restructuring, as well as Carnegie Forum staff. The ideas and proposals then were shared with teams from 40 schools interested in restructuring, at the Super Saturday meeting. Other meetings with staff, parents, and community members followed.

Then, in late June 1988, an intensive seminar with teachers, parents, and administrators from 25 schools wanting to pursue the ideas further (with the approval of at least two-thirds of the school staff) trained the teams in strategic planning, again under the guidance of outside experts who brought either scholarly or hands-on expertise to the discussions.

From this long but thoughtful process developed a set of "beliefs" about education and the restructuring effort. For example, the school board stated its beliefs about students:

- All students can learn, and public education should enable all students to fulfill their unique potential (a more recent result of reform in San Diego was a decision to move toward eliminating remedial classes and concentrating on higher-order thinking for all students).
- All students deserve to be at each school, each child should feel welcomed by the school staff, and each student should achieve success at school.
- Students from diverse backgrounds learn in different ways, and current instructional methods must change to meet each student's learning needs.
- With the rapid increase in knowledge, students must learn to effectively process information and become lifelong learners.

As well, the school board said that it believes schools:

- Are the locus of change.
- Should have greater autonomy and foster more shared decisionmaking among administrators, teachers, and parents.
- Need greater school autonomy and shared decisionmaking accompanied by the acceptance of responsibility for student outcomes.
- Change their school structures, instructional practices, and staff roles, most likely in phases, and these changes need time to evolve. It may take three years before major change is evident.
- Can restructure within existing district resource allocations.

The change process, based on these beliefs and a solid underpinning of information and guidance from the months-long involvement with ideas, has started in several San Diego schools.

The focus throughout, says Payzant, is on student learning. Second, restructuring must consider the support needed for newly empowered teachers--those asked to accept roles for which they have not been responsible in the past. The task of superintendents and other administrators "is to keep asking the right questions without having the expectation that there is only one correct answer," Payzant says.

Toledo, Ohio

The "grandfather" of many of the restructuring ideas that have been hammered out in collective bargaining agreements are those begun in the Toledo, Ohio, schools in 1981.

The Toledo Plan emphasizes professional development of teachers by teachers. It focuses on two goals--to improve the first-year induction of teachers and to help veteran teachers improve their skills.

As in other cities, the Toledo Plan builds on a collaborative relationship between labor and management in the district, primarily because the chief players on both sides have been in the district for a long time. The plan is supervised by a joint labor-management Review Panel, with a majority of teachers. Every new teacher is assigned for his or her initial year to an experienced teacher who is given released time to both coach and evaluate the new teacher. At the end of the year, the Review Panel must approve the new teacher for a second year on the staff. During the second year, principals conduct evaluations of the teachers, using the standards and criteria developed by the consulting teacher during the first year.

Under the teacher intervention part of the Toledo Plan, any teacher who has had performance problems over an extended time is given extra help, again through peer support. At the time, this was a major step forward in union involvement for the quality of the teaching force through contractual arrangements. The Toledo Plan's reliance on teachers to provide guidance to each other is an idea also developed in the Rochester and Dade County plans.

While aimed primarily at employee relations, the Toledo Plan has "hit a mindset," in the opinion of Robert Corcoran, executive director for teacher personnel for the school system, that has enabled major changes to occur that are similar to what other systems are calling restructuring. For example, he says, the unions and the school board collaborate on staff development, designing curriculum, running the Summer Academy, textbook selection, a computer steering committee, a partnership committee to work with the universities in the area, and individual building committees for each school.

Some of these efforts have been highly controversial, Corcoran says. These included a teacher-in-charge program in which a teacher takes charge of a school whenever the principal is away, a bond committee for raising new monies, and a career ladder concept with a quasi-merit pay schedule.

In Corcoran's view, it is people progress with mutual cooperation that is far more important than many of the "restructuring" ideas, such as altering the lines of authority. Whatever the mechanics, he says, it is "how people treat one another with respect that makes any system work."

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CHAPTER IX:

Any number of labels

have been applied to greater

decisionmaking at the school site,

but they all mean that those in the school are empowered to

make meaningful changes and to be accountable for them....

MEANWHILE, AT THE SCHOOL

Is the current effort to restructure schools a form of school-site management? Is it school-site decisionmaking? School-based decisionmaking? Is it all of them? And what of the other terms being used--shared governance, school-based budgeting, decentralized management? Are reformers talking about the same idea?

The name is not as important as the shifts in authority that are taking place, says Ted Kolderie, director of the Public Services Redesign Project at the Humphrey Institute/University of Minnesota.[1] Delegating authority to the school is very different from delegating authority within the school, and when the latter becomes a substitute for the former, genuine school-site management is not occurring, he points out. Kolderie says two questions must be asked: What decisions can the school really make? And, who in the school really makes them?

Another cautious view of school-based management as a panacea comes from a study by William Clune and Paula White, *School-Based Management: Institutional Variation, Implementation, and Issues for Further Research.*[2] A project of the Center for Policy Research in Education, the study says the interest in this strategy as an extension of education reform stems from the research on school effectiveness and "second-wave" concern with decentralization. Says the study: "It might represent the end of the 'one best system'...and its replacement with a less cumbersome system of flexible management....At the other extreme, it might represent the customary weak countermovement in an historical trend toward ever greater centralization. And it might represent something in between--for example, a new compromise of autonomy and accountability born of the clash between the 'two reform movements.'"

No matter what the term, the definition, or the reason, however, the school takes center stage in today's education reform scene. This presents unusual challenges to all levels of educational governance because school-site management introduces a new level. How does the federal government reach down to use its resources to stimulate reform in local schools? How can states be sensitive to the individual circumstances of local schools? How can school boards retain control but remove hands-on control? Is school-site reform possible without the strong endorsement and support of the superintendent and the school board?

Cautious recognition is reflected in a resolution adopted recently by the National School Boards Association. It encourages "school boards to consider decentralizing the district's decision-making process in a manner that is consistent with local priorities and that acknowledges the board's responsibility to the community for governance of the public schools."

Where urban districts have been successful in starting a change process, the school boards, while initially a player for someone else's leadership, nevertheless, backed it up with their own consensus, according to a study of six school districts on the move by Paul Hill and others at the RAND Corporation. *Educational Progress: Cities Mobilize to Improve Their Schools* notes that although some of the boards had a history of conflict, "all now support the overarching priorities created by the superintendent's mandate or community leadership processes." The cities in the study were Atlanta, Cincinnati, Miami, Pittsburgh, Memphis, and San Diego.

Overcoming Barriers

A small elementary school in Seattle, Washington, which wanted to shape its own program, ran into misunderstandings and barriers at every level of governance; but, nonetheless, became an example of school-site decisionmaking cited by everyone from parents to governors of other states. At the Montlake Elementary School, former Principal Levaun Dennett worried that minority students made no progress and pull-out programs fractured the instructional program in her school. In 1985, she began planning to do things differently, working with district and state officials, seeking training for teachers, and redesigning everything from scheduling to curriculum.

In the "new" Montlake school, the mornings are devoted to English and math taught by all professionals in the school, including librarians and specialists. This brings the adult-student ratio down to 1-15. Children are grouped by skill level, rather than by grade, and labels are not used. According to school district data, reading and math scores of minority students improved dramatically. Although they work harder, teachers welcome smaller classes and opportunities to individualize education. But because the school was out of compliance with state and federal regulations, it lost funding. Recently, however, various foundations and districtwide projects have provided the school with enough money to maintain its staffing ratio and staff development activities.

Dennett went "public" when the school ran into regulatory problems, explaining what she was doing at Montlake. While this created some friction, one appearance, at the annual meeting of the Education Commission of the States, earned her accolades from governors and state legislators, and Governor Booth Gardner of Washington State later visited the school.

Montlake, although not exactly a model for the state's Schools for the 21st Century project, nonetheless, demonstrated that restructuring ideas which center on benefits for children can garner the support of policymakers.

Dennett, however, has left the principalship.

Common Conclusions. While the philosophy of school-based management projects was fairly consistent in the more than 30 districts studied by Clune and White, the organization of the programs was very diverse. Decisions on budget, curriculum, and hiring represent the three crucial areas for school-based management. The districts differed as to which one of these areas was most decentralized and which one was turned over to schools first (budget decisions tended to be given to schools first, then hiring, and finally curriculum). The most aggressive plans, they learned, decentralized all areas at once. Also, smaller districts found the process to be easier; large districts confronted more obstacles.

Their study also found that:

- ***The central person in school-based management programs is the principal, whose roles change in three ways.*** He or she becomes closer to the instructional functions of the school and to the staff as a mediator of shared governance. At the same time, the principal's role is "higher in the district chain of command as a person with more authority and accountability." School-based management usually does not result in a system of teacher governance, but teachers have greater opportunities to lead.
- ***Communication with students and parents,*** especially through the school council which manages the changes, improves in these schools.

- ***School-based management represents a unique blend of accountability and autonomy.*** Accountability increases because of the clearer lines of responsibility between principals and the superintendent, and between school officials and the community. Autonomy increases because of the emphasis upon decentralization and non-interference from state and district regulation. At this stage in the development of school-based management, criteria for success relate more to process, such as greater autonomy and flexibility, than to improvements in student achievement. Problems center on the skills of principals and teachers to assume new roles and responsibilities. Also, schools find that it is difficult to maintain consistent participation of parents and students on the school councils.

> **"There has been a tremendous release of energy and creativity. It's true what they say about this sense of ownership, it's very powerful. When people really believe that what they think, what they say, what they do will make a difference, they take hold, they make things happen, they look for what needs changing and they change it, be it in the system or in themselves. The result here has been a very noticeable feeling of professional pride and investment in 'this school as my school.'"**
>
> Patric O'Rourke
> President, Hammond, Ind.
> Teachers Federation
> *American Educator,* Spring 1988

Deciding who will be responsible for what is the first step toward school-site decisionmaking. At the very top, points out "School-Based Management," a joint statement of administrator and principal groups, school board members need to understand how the system would work and support it. They also need to be "cautious about overturning decisions made at the school or district level. Otherwise, the process will lose credibility and, ultimately, effectiveness."

Superintendents need to set and be responsible for achieving district goals, communicating shared values, and building support for schools among everyone in the community.

Using greater discretion than under traditional organization, principals will have more say in determining budget priorities, establishing staffing patterns, and developing educational programs to meet districtwide objectives.

Who Makes Which Decisions? According to the statement, some of the decisions that might be made at the school level include:

- Developing educational priorities for the building and the students.
- Developing new programs to meet the needs of the school's students.
- Developing scheduling to meet instructional goals.
- Allocating resources to best meet the needs of students.
- Determining professional development programs to meet faculty needs.
- Selecting supplemental instructional materials.
- Selecting applicants from a pool of pre-screened candidates.

The school district, says the statement, would continue essential functions, such as developing districtwide priorities; developing educational objectives for each grade level and the curriculum to meet those objectives; supervising capital expenditures; selecting textbooks; selecting principals; and screening applicants for jobs.

Implied in the statement--and in many of the studies of restructuring efforts--is the everyday challenge of running a school system in the midst of profound changes. While new governance structures are developed and educators learn to cope with new roles, the day-to-day operation of a school system must continue. Time must be carved out of routine responsibilities to develop a vision and consensus, plan, implement, reflect upon, and modify changes.

The Keys to Change at Key School

Indianapolis' "Gang of Eight" operates downtown and in what some might call subversive ways. But this group of teachers in the Indianapolis school system created an elementary school from scratch that parents found so appealing, it had to select its 150 students from more than 500 applications throughout the city before the school's doors opened.

Key School, designed by the teachers on the principles of multiple talents in children, as in the research of Howard Gardner at Harvard University, uses a special interest of each child to create his or her instructional and aesthetic experiences. Gardner, challenging traditional ideas about giftedness, has delineated at least seven kinds of intellectual ability, including the normal verbal and logical-mathematical skills; as well as spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and self-understanding.

The program designed by the teachers seeks to develop each child's special talents, through hands-on instruction, required original projects every nine weeks which cross subject matters, integration of art and music into regular instruction, and different means of assessment. Parents are heavily involved with the school's program, and the teachers seek to use relevant educational research.

The teachers were not allowed to carry through on some of their ideas, although these may develop later, such as using a lead teacher rather than a principal and conducting peer evaluations. The school benefits from outside financing of some of its activities, and an advisory committee connects the school to resources from local businesses, museums, and other sources. However, observers acknowledge that the real strength of Key School is the shared vision of its goals by all of the teachers.

Gradual Evolution Favored. According to *Radius*, a publication of the AFT's Center for Restructuring, school-based management should evolve gradually. Edmonton in Alberta, Canada, for example, which has had one of the longest experiences with school-based management in North America, reports that its effort to devolve decisionmaking is still evolving, after 10 years of the program.

Doing its own review of research, the AFT center came to these conclusions:

- School-based management will more likely meet its goals when it is coupled with meaningful shared decisionmaking.

- The goal of enhanced student learning is an indispensable precondition for considering school-based management and shared decisionmaking.
- To ensure that student learning is enhanced, it is necessary to enumerate the kinds of decisions to be considered at the school level, e.g., the use of multiple instructional strategies, changes in scheduling.
- Simultaneous attempts to centralize and decentralize can result in conflict (as in curriculum and testing decisions) which can be managed if planned for in advance.
- Additional time and resources are items most often clamored for by staffs implementing school-based management and shared decisionmaking.
- An evolutionary approach (over at least five years) to school-based management and shared decisionmaking is more likely to succeed than one mandated for implementation in a short period of time.
- School-based management and shared decisionmaking are one piece of the restructuring puzzle and so should be considered in relation to other pieces, such as assessment and curriculum.

Getting From Here to There

The barriers to school-based management are formidable, according to Ted Kolderie of the Humphrey Institute at the University of Minnesota, particularly if a group of parents or a school staff want to try it on their own. Public policy must be clearer and more creative about overcoming resistance to altering authority relationships. However, he says, there are several policy alternatives that can be taken:[3]

- ***Demonstration grants.*** Minnesota began a program several years ago of "school effectiveness," which provides seed money and technical support to districts that want to work with individual schools as the unit for improvement efforts. Similarly, the Northwest Area Foundation supported 10 districts interested in school-site management through a four-year program of planning and implementation. While these programs produced some good ideas, says Kolderie, they failed to or seldom have a systemic effect on the school district as a whole, which weakens what they are trying to do.

- *District mandates.* While strong superintendent and central administration support can motivate schools to use school-based management, "the obvious question in such cases is what sort of authority would really be delegated to the school--and how well such authority would be exercised by people who did not seek it," says Kolderie.
- *A standard-plan contract.* The state could provide for school-based management by allowing schools to propose their own plan, which a school district simply would adopt. Under this idea (introduced in the Minnesota legislature in 1987 but amended to maintain school board authority), a standard plan would spell out the authority of the school district and of individual schools. Schools could be given real authority, within the limits of collective bargaining. The district would set objectives; the school would measure and report results. Because the provisions would be state law, schools and districts would not have to negotiate over what was to be decentralized. Participation would be voluntary. Once adopted, the plan could be implemented gradually.

"Traditionally, teachers have been asked to 'see it'--to put it into operation --without the opportunity to 'believe it' first. They have been hired to teach, but they have not often been as closely involved in direct inquiry into classroom organization and management, cognitive development, school effectiveness, and so forth, due to the ways in which schools have been typically organized. I believe that when educators in schools become active in a process of inquiry with fundamental change in mind, school renewal can become a reality."

Joseph Bishop
Executive Director,
Public School Partnership
Brigham Young University, Utah

- *Free-standing schools.* Schools could be let out of a district and exist on their own. Kolderie points out that this is the plan recently adopted in Great Britain; schools can opt out from under the local authority and become a "grant-maintained" school financed directly by the state.

Contract arrangements, such as the standard plan idea, combine autonomy and accountability, according to Kolderie, so they may have appeal. However, "the real interest of the teachers remains to be tested. Are they interested in a site-managed school only if it is also teacher-run? Are they interested in a site-managed school even if not teacher-run? Are they not interested in site-management at all?" The way to find out, he suggests, is to allow teachers to design their own programs, with perhaps more than one program in a school building. (See AFT plan in Chapter IV)

Getting Down to Policy Decisions

The major work of restructuring will be in the hands of those in the local school, emphasizes Michael Cohen of the National Governors' Association.[4] These are the people who must decide what features of the school will be changed--and why. But they also must work in concert with policymakers who can make it possible for the changes to take place. How can these groups begin? Cohen advises those involved in shared decisionmaking to focus on those conditions in the school that relate to student learning. He explains:

- **Educational goals**. To a large extent, instructional goals are determined by state and local boards--and the assessment tools they choose. If schools are to emphasize higher-order thinking skills, policies must support them.
- **Structure of knowledge.** Traditional curricula in a high school for example, might emphasize breadth rather than depth; or an elementary curriculum might insist on basic skills before higher-order skills. These are examples of flawed thinking about how learning occurs and of the knowledge issues that school restructuring encompasses.
- **Instructional tasks and activities**. The lecture or passive mode of instruction moves all students through the curriculum at the same pace, regardless of their rate of learning. School staff need to consider alternatives--active learning on the part of students, cooperative learning, projects that engage students in complex and demanding learning tasks.
- **Instructional group size and composition.** The current reliance

on tracking, both intra-classroom in elementary schools and through course tracks in secondary schools, and other organizational factors in schools often inhibit student learning. There is strong research evidence that alternatives, such as heterogeneous grouping combined with cooperative structures and peer tutoring, are successful. Also, varying large group, small group, and individualized instruction capitalizes on student styles of learning.

- **Instructional time.** According to Cohen, time is a critical structural feature of schooling. When it is a fixed resource, some students become bored, others are discouraged by pressure to learn within timeframes. More effective are those strategies that establish standards, such as mastery of learning, but give students variable amounts of time to reach the standards.

This is not a complete list of instructional facets to be considered when attempting restructuring, but they illustrate that it is possible to identify those which affect student learning; that research exists to support decisionmaking; and that it is impossible to change just one component of instruction at a time.

Because each school's situation will be different, school districts should not develop a uniform set of changes for schools to consider. Decisions need to be made by teachers and principals about the instructional organization. And if they are to make those decisions, they also must make related decisions--regarding staffing, curriculum selection and development, and organizational development needs. If they are to make these broader decisions, they need also to decide how to allocate resources.

Schools will need blocks of time for planning and implementing school-based/shared decisionmaking. This will require investments, and/or use of less expensive resources, such as paraprofessionals, peer tutors, and instructional technologies.

The superintendent's role, above the nitty-gritty of shepherding the organization and the resources needed for the process of change, is to invest in and trust people, according to the superintendents who participated in Project Education Reform, co-sponsored by the National Governors' Association and the U.S. Office of Education. Superintendent Harry Galinsky of Paramus, New Jersey, summed up the experience of change: "The ability to get things done through people--that's the essence of leadership. Unless you unleash the creative talents of people in the system--both the staff and parents--final solutions will never be institutionalized or deep-rooted."

Tips for Nurturing Planning Teams

Policymakers may concern themselves with possibilities in new governance structures. But administrators, wanting to support school-based management, must think of the "what-do-we-do-tomorrow" practicalities. John Helfrich, superintendent of the Kenmore-Town of Tonawanda School District at Kenmore, New York, believes that support of the planning team is the essential ingredient of getting started on school-based management. His suggestions for nurturing the planning teams include:

- ***Provide time for meetings.*** Be creative, involve team members in the process of determining when and where meetings will be held.
- ***Give importance to the planning team and its products.*** The need to be patient as the team's functions evolve is necessary so that long-range plans can be developed and carried out.
- ***The superintendent must be the strongest and most vocal supporter of the improvement effort.*** He or she cannot be neutral or invisible if the program is to succeed.
- ***The superintendent and board must be involved in a personal way in the program.*** It is important to attend some or all of the planning team meetings and be available to support and serve as spokespersons.
- ***Have patience.*** Results will come slowly at first. The first successes of the planning efforts will, most likely, be low-risk and high-visibility ones. An example would be the redecorating of a cafeteria to improve the morale of students. Time and support from the superintendent and board will encourage high-risk objectives that are aimed at improvement of student performance.

- ***Monitor the process and results.*** Formative evaluation is an important element of a successful operation and was one of Helfrich's most rewarding experiences in the process of developing school-based management. As teachers and others become involved in the evaluation process, communication among all the groups involved in school-based management improves.

An 'Essential School,' From a Superintendent's View

By Theodore Sizer
Brown University

"What is an 'essential' high school? If there is one in the district, what does the superintendent see?

"Most obviously, the school is strikingly autonomous, an excellent example of 'school site management.' Principal and teachers work together collegially. If the school building serves a large number of students, the 'site' may in fact be a federation of schools, a collaborating group of (say) four hundred student units held together by shared ideas and common cafeteria, library and parking lot.

"The superintendent knows that this 'essential' school is different from every other one. Good schools respect their particular settings and necessarily reflect the strengths, weaknesses, imagination and energy of their faculties. Thus, no two good schools are ever quite alike, even year to year, and 'essential' schools are no exception to this all-too-often-overlooked common sense rule. The superintendent understands, however, that 'essential' schools share, if not a 'model,' a common set of ideas, a group of interrelated principles which serve as touchstones for their design and

"The Coalition of Essential schools' nine 'common principles' are all familiar to the superintendent. Indeed, they are obvious old chestnuts of long-accepted American educational practice. They posit that the most important goal of schooling is to help young people learn to use their minds well--to become 'thinking' citizens, workers and family members able to make sound, sensible and informed decisions for themselves and others, able to sort out propaganda from fact and to teach themselves new things, from a new line of work to a new language. This intellectual goal transcends all others and applies without exception to all students. A democracy depends utterly on a thinking citizenry, one which cannot be readily conned. Thus is the goal of schooling the habit of thoughtfulness, whether used in physics class or on the street, in French class or on the job.

"The content of 'essential' schooling, the superintendent knows, flows from these first principles. Not surprisingly, it is very traditional, drawing on key ideas, knowledge and skills familiar in most good schools. Language, literature, mathematics, the sciences, history, the arts are all there, intensively so for all students. What the superintendent will notice as different are the pedagogies used, the varieties of materials matched to different students, and the insistence of the teachers on thorough work by all students, even at the expense of 'coverage' of material. The aphorism 'less is more' is frequently bandied about. Students do not 'progress' unless and until they demonstrate that they both know the material and skills and, equally important, can use them in some consequential way.

"The superintendent chuckles upon noticing how similar the 'essential' high school classrooms are to those in fine elementary schools: all that is different is the level of expected performance and the raucousness of the adolescent voices. There are groups at work, each at a different point in the learning. Classes do not march forward at the same teacher-paced speed, for the obvious reason that the students, now required regularly to 'demonstrate' their mastery of the work, undeniably and unavoidably pattern out at different levels. The teachers remind the superintendent that students' levels constantly change; youngsters rarely fall into fixed 'tracks' as they learn at different rates at different times. The teachers have to know each student well enough to understand just how she or he is progressing, subject by subject, week to week, and to accommodate to this with flexible grouping arrangements.

"The superintendent wryly recalls the central staff's skepticism when told that in order for the 'essential' high school's faculty to know the students well enough adequately to understand the progress of each, no teacher could be responsible for more than 80 students--the maximum number of 'minds and hearts' that one veteran professional could get to know well enough to teach effectively. This goal was to be achieved with, roughly, the same per-pupil expenditure as found in 'regular' high schools in the district (a constraint that all the 'essential' schools accept). The district's negotiated contract calls for a 120:1 load for academic instructors, save for the English teachers who are assigned a 100:1 ratio: how to accomplish a reduction of load without kiting the budget? The answer arose from a combination of teaming teachers, focusing the curriculum and simplifying the administration of the high school. While easily visualized on paper, these steps were difficult to achieve in practice as they required the elimination of more than a few valued activities and traditions. Teachers would be expected to teach 'across' subjects in this 'essential' high school--the science staff teaching some mathematics and health topics, the social studies folk expected to teach topics normally 'found' in English, art and music classes, and so forth. Quality control was to emerge from within the teams; the 'certified' biology teachers, for example, supervising all the work in their area, whomever was teaching it. This meant an end to the 'my classroom is my castle' tradition. The teachers had now to act more like a medical team working on a case or a professional group in a law firm preparing a set of briefs.

"The superintendent knew that the principal and her staff had set out a five-year plan to evolve into an 'essential' pattern and pedagogy, the kinds of changes they envisioned were fundamental ones. The staff stayed at it, however, as they knew that the students--and thus eventually the teachers--would benefit.

"The 'essential' high school was considered 'noisy,' the superintendent knew. A central principle accepted by the staff flowed from the aphorisms 'student as worker' and 'teacher as coach.' If youngsters were not engaged, teachers understood from common sense and their own experience, little learning took place. 'Talking' to and at students rarely engages their minds (as experience sadly demonstrates), and teachers in conventional schools 'talk' most of the time, as John Goodlad's and others' important recent research clearly demonstrates. The trick is to cast the work to be done as much as possible as a series of compelling questions, ones that carry with them not only an incentive to find answers but also the likelihood of effective experience in using one's mind adroitly and in gaining and retaining essential knowledge. This approach leads to a curriculum which looks, in its final, useable form, less a sequenced list of data which the teachers and students are to traverse than a set of 'essential questions,' the answering of which will both provoke the habit of resourceful thought and lead to a useable grasp of new information. The search for 'answers,' the teachers knew, usually required a period of sustained questioning, sometimes led by them but also often engaging groups of students themselves. Collaborative learning is what the real world engages in, in any event; one learns personally by puzzling out collectively, at least some of the time. Collective student puzzlement created the 'noise' that the superintendent heard.

"Practice for the culminating Exhibitions was underway, and the superintendent watched the older students in this work--the preparing of science experiments, working in the library on research, taking 'trial' tests, debating one another. The classrooms brimmed with 'performance;' seemingly at every turn a teacher asked a student to 'show me.' 'Unless the kids can use it, they won't really know it,' the staff argue--and their students' successful performance on district and statewide mandated tests proves their point.

"Insisting on culminating mastery requires that the teachers are themselves clear about specific academic goals, both of content and skills. 'Knowing what's in Chapter Six' won't do; to use the material of Chapter Six in effective ways means much more than mere memorization. That is, one has to go beyond only being able to recite the Bill of Rights; one has to be able to apply them in problematic situations. Teachers have to devise such 'problematic situations' and have a clear sense of the standard expected in their analysis. This setting of standards when the resourceful use of knowledge is a high expectation is an unfamiliar exercise for many teachers, and the superintendent expects on his visit to find small groups of teachers engaged in planning, both of Exhibitions and the many trial performances preceding them and of the shaping of pedagogies and curricular materials appropriate both to the exercises that lie ahead of the students and to the particular youngsters being taught.

"The superintendent recalls the difficulties of getting started--the negotiations with the teachers' union (easy) and with state regulatory authorities (sticky), the request of the teachers for new sorts and kinds of teaching materials, the need to find short-term financing for the school's planning and special inservice training, the coping with staff across the system who were threatened by the 'essential' effort, the time required to advise the Board and to rally its members' support, the extra number of 'superintendent hours' required to be on top of this project, assessing its emerging shape and assisting (indeed, 'coaching') its leaders.

"Association with the Coalition of Essential Schools helped as it put those involved in the district in regular touch with colleagues in dozens of other settings who were attempting similar approaches. Further, the recent alliance of the Coalition with the Education Commission of the States in the Re:Learning project now also brought state authorities into the effort.

"The superintendent had long been aware, however regretfully, that the existing means of schooling ill served many youngsters. 'Essential' ideas provide a common sense strategy for the necessarily ambitious restructuring necessary, he knew. While they provide no panacea, quick fix or painless reform, they do provide a thoughtful framework upon which to build.

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CHAPTER X

Once built, a house
needs furnishing; so, too,
the restructuring movement is
reaching out in many ways to provide
ideas and substance to work with in changed environments....

TOOLS FOR RESTRUCTURING

If the call to restructure schools from the bottom up were confined to new roles for people, it would be a "clubby" kind of movement, looked upon by non-educators as an internal matter.

However, it is much more than that. In fact, there is so much activity under the rubric of restructuring of education that the atmosphere has an aura of extreme vitality, even of chaos. Proposals and actions range from parental choice in schools to the most extensive revision of textbooks in recent times to new teaching strategies in the classroom.

At the moment, no overall cohesion exists to the ideas, no central control room guides the efforts. The buzzword simply is "change." Yet, the overall effect has produced a flow toward dramatically different schooling--based, for the most part, on cumulative research about how students learn best, on acknowledgment of compelling needs of children and youth from very changed family situations, and on higher expectations about education. Restructuring is carving new tools as well as new roles for people.

The importance of various ideas to an individual school or school district will depend upon many factors--the needs of students and goals of the school and/or school district, training and interests of teachers and principals, and often the values and interests held by the community.

No review can cover everything in the very volatile environment existing today. However, major pieces of the change mode in education appear to include classroom strategies, curriculum revision, new evaluation techniques, and the broader policy issues revolving around parental and student choice.

Within the Classroom

When Rexford Brown, director of the Higher Literacies Project at the Education Commission of the States, asked a group of Denver business people what qualities they wanted in workers and considered when hiring and firing employees, he got beyond the usual rhetoric about basic skills. Describing the conversation in a commentary on "Schooling and Thoughtfulness"[1] for the Council for Basic Education, Brown wrote:

> The first word spoken was creativity. Then someone mentioned flexibility. Then came problem solving and skill in dealing with people, adapatability, innovation, and a capacity to change. Several people stressed responsibility, teamwork, loyalty, and good work habits and attitudes.
>
> Eventually, someone mentioned basic skills. What he meant was some minimal, threshold capacity to read, write, and perform simple mathematical operations. The group said it was important for workers to have these basic skills but none of them seemed interested in hiring or promoting anyone who had only these skills.

> What they want most, they said, are thinkers, people with judgment, people who are thoughtful--about the jobs they are doing, the people they are doing them with, and the people they are doing them for....
>
> In more and more jobs--not just the professions, which have always put a premium on thinking and judgment--the requirements for success and satisfaction are going up. Basic skills are not enough--because they're too basic and because they're too focused on skills, not on knowledge, habits, dispositions, values, judgment, sensitivity to context, flexibility, creativity, responsibility, or the other components of a successful and happy adulthood.

Brown is describing what he calls "thoughtfulness," and others tag as problem solving, critical thinking or higher-order thinking. Interest in these dimensions of an "educated person" has spawned a national debate about whether they should be deliberately taught, and if so, as separate subjects, or integrated throughout the curriculum or both. Not only do these views exist, but, according to the *New York Times,* they have spawned six journals and three professional associations in just a few years.

Concern about the critical thinking abilities of students was instigated, or at least encouraged, by consistent reports from the National Assessment of Educational Progress on the skills of students in reading, writing, math, and science. While a large proportion of students acquire basic abilities, these reports show, very few become adept at elaboration, synthesis, or other expanded use of the skills they have. For example, the analysis of the NAEP Young Adult Literacy Assessment, conducted in 1986, concludes that "most young adults do not possess a high level of critical reading skills," particularly those from minority groups.[2] If allowed to continue, the stratification of literacy skills could lead to a "bifurcated work force, mirrored by a bifurcated educational system."

Or, consider the comments of Thomas Sciance, a chemical engineer and a chief researcher for the I.E. DuPont de Nemours and Co. "With the advent of computers, we now use rigorous techniques as a matter of course," he told a seminar on math literacy. But what has happened is that although the computers give answers, "the students don't always understand just what they did to get them. And that is a deadly flaw because if you don't understand what you are doing in the workplace, you will eventually make a dangerous or expensive mistake."[3]

Critical Thinking. Approaches to solving the problem of poor critical thinking in students run throughout this report. Certainly, the concepts of the Paideia Project and the Coalition of Essential Schools focus on more reflective learning and mastery of less but more critical knowledge. Testing agencies are reexamining their products to see how to infuse critical thinking skills as part of the assessment process. Staff development and teacher training, using research on instruction, promote the teaching of critical thinking through such techniques as using more challenging content or asking better questions of students about content.

One problem is that of definition. Robert Ennis, professor of educational philosophy at the University of Illinois and an advocate of critical thinking, uses a description that illustrates the ambiguities related to thinking. Critical thinking, he says, instills "dispositions and habits of mind, like trying to be well-informed, looking at things from another person's point of view, withholding a decision when the evidence is insufficient, being open-minded." Brown says that a literacy of thoughtfulness "is primarily a process of making meaning (not just receiving it) and negotiating it with others (not just thinking alone)."

Some students are learning to think this way, but not enough, in Brown's view, which is why the restructuring of education is out on the table. Restructuring should begin not with organization, better classroom questioning, a new textbook, or a weekly seminar, but, rather, start out with the principles of "thoughtfulness" and "work backwards to create the policy and then the schools within which thoughtful adult and student activity is likely to flourish," he says. This can only happen in a community where thoughtfulness prevails in policies and leadership. A thoughtful school climate reflects a thoughtful community.

Learning Styles. Related to the issue of critical thinking is that of learning styles. Proponents of learning style theories contend that students learn best if instructional methods are geared to the conditions that work best for individuals. For example, some learn better by manipulating materials, some through more visual instruction, some through aural instruction. Some learn best in groups, while others perform at their peak in individual study. Even the lighting and temperature of classrooms affect students in different ways. According to Rita Dunn of St. John's University in New York, her pioneer research "documents that statistically higher test scores, improved attitudes toward school and learning, and reduced numbers of discipline problems result when students are taught through their personal learning style strengths."

Researchers have delineated at least 32 learning styles. Assessment profiles, developed by Dunn and the National Association of Secondary School Principals, are being disseminated through the Learning Styles Network established by Dunn, St. John's University, and the NASSP.

> **"The innovative charter frees the magnet schools from standard formulas for education--formulas that have not been working well with increasing proportions of students--and gives then license to develop distinctive educational approaches."**
>
> **Mary Metz,**
> **University of Wisconsin/Madison**

Cultural Context. A corollary interest to that in learning styles is the cultural influence upon a child's ability to learn, particularly those children considered "different" because of language or family background. Again, research is beginning to provide substantive arguments for attending to cultural "styles of learning." Intercultural studies by Canadian James Cummins or with Southern blacks by Shirley Brice-Heath of Stanford University, as examples, point out that subtleties in cultural patterns count for a lot when young children are trying to learn.

Those who teach Asian immigrant students, for example, experience extreme differences, such as a child not raising his or her eyes to a teacher, out of respect -- not disrespect. Yet, some Hispanic groups that are not new immigrants, research shows, retain cultural traditions that are important to learning, such as being uncomfortable performing individually in class, preferring group work and consensus. Also, black children raised in traditions emmanating from the rural South are often more comfortable with oral traditions and group decisionmaking.

Asa Hilliard III, a social psychologist and historian at Georgia State University, contends that the traditions would not be inhibiting except for the fact that teachers misunderstand these differences and mistakenly underestimate a student's or a cultural group's intellectual potential. "The consequences of such errors are enormous, producing mislabeling, misplacement, and the ultimate mistreatment--inappropriate teaching--of children," he says.

Working with the diversified enrollment of the Portland, Oregon, school district, Hilliard has helped it develop a curriculum-wide multicultural approach. Leading scholars prepared papers in all subject areas on Afro-American heritage, not just the usual arts or reading. With special training and resources, teachers use the information to develop culturally sensitive lessons. For example, students in beginning algebra learn that this particular mathematical language comes from north Africa. Curricula on four other cultural groups will be phased in over the next few years.

Portland's superintendent, Matthew Prophet Jr., and the school board took the multicultural approach not only to respond to the cultural learning styles of students, but also to help teachers understand the strengths of cultural traditions and to prepare all students better for a globally interdependent world.

Teaching, Learning Styles in Asia

University of Michigan researchers peeled back the outperformance of Asian students compared to those in the United States, particularly in mathematics, to try to find out why.[4] Much of the explanation apparently is in the early emotional engagement of Asian students with teachers and with learning, according to an article in the Educational Researcher. Other reasons are revealed by observing elementary school classrooms:

- **Students in Taiwan, China, and Japan spend more hours a day in learning activities than do American students. They work as a class and follow routines that keep them on task. American students, by contrast, take longer to make transitions; they ask** more questions, but most questions are about procedure, not subject matter.

- Teachers in Asian countries spend more time lecturing, explaining, and answering questions--but in ways that engage students in the learning process. For example, in a 30-minute math lesson an Asian teacher may take up only one problem but approach it from many angles, never providing answers but encouraging students to ask questions and probe for the answer. An American teacher would use several problems in the same time period, provide answers and not encourage elaboration.
- The Asian curriculum is better integrated and less repetitive from year to year than in the United States. Teachers of consecutive grades, as well as teachers of the same grades, confer regularly, often daily, on lessons.
- There is more time for physical activity--in Japan students get a 10-minute break every hour and a long noon recess.
- Asians do not emphasize rote learning. Both textbooks and teachers encourage critical thinking, and teachers use a multitude of approaches. Young students, for example, carry math boxes with games and exercises that explain math. Grading is uncommon; the aim of the teacher is to have everyone understand a problem, not to judge some students as failures.

Cooperative Learning. Another major development in classroom strategies is the growing use of cooperative learning. Under this way of classroom organization, children meet together for general instruction but separate into teams of students with different levels of abilities to work on assignments. The teams are responsible for all members learning the material and concepts.

According to studies of cooperative learning, the strategy produces measurable gains in achievement because each member of the team tries harder than they might individually. Also, students care about each other, as well as about each other's achievement. According to the principal researcher and developer of cooperative learning, Robert Slavin of The Johns Hopkins University, the technique is most effective with both black and Hispanic students, who generally value peer group opinions and cooperation more than white students.

Tracking. A natural outcome of these various strategies to change traditional teaching is a disenchantment with the "tracking" of students by ability groups. Almost all those who have studied the problem of tracking agree that while it might "work" for high-ability students, it is a liability for most other students. The tracks become permanent labels, the teaching methods and content in low tracks are not of the same quality as higher tracks, and students in lower tracks begin to expect less of themselves.

Jeannie Oakes, a social scientist with the RAND Corporation, has studied tracking extensively and developed alternative ideas for accommodating to individual needs of students in a heterogeneously grouped classroom. These include new conceptions of ability, including the acknowledgment that academic ability is not fixed but is developmental; a curriculum rich with meaning that allows students of different abilities to be challenged at their own pace; interactive classroom organization, such as cooperative learning; and evaluation that supports learning.

The strongest criticism of tracking in a major education reform report as of 1989 appears in the Carnegie Corporation's *Turning Points: The Education of American Youth for the 21st Century.*[5] Focused on middle schools but directed at school organization in general, the report recommends the elimination of tracking and commitment to high expectations and higher-order thinking skills for all students.

Revising the Curriculum

No area of the curriculum has escaped the attention of reformers in the current mood for change. The attention centers mostly on providing richer, more challenging content rather than additional courses or coverage. The interests are somewhat scattershot at this time, but some trends are evident:

- Textbook content must be enlivened.
- Teaching should rely less on basal readers and textbooks and more on supplementary resources.
- Curriculum should be more context-related, for example, hands-on

experiences in science or the solving of real community problems in social studies.

- The curriculum should be interdisciplinary, especially in secondary schools.
- The curriculum should stimulate critical thinking, discussion, problem solving; in other words, it should engage students in active, rather than passive, learning.
- Disadvantaged children should learn from just as challenging a curriculum as other students; indeed, special efforts are needed to make it fully rich in order to compensate for their lack of access to context-broadening experiences in their homes and communities.

These changes would suppose that teachers, administrators and parents hold different, and higher, expectations from the traditional curricula of the schools. While the media often focus on individual community controversies that illustrate the opposite, genuine efforts to revise the content taught in schools are taking place in many places and at several levels. However, the picture has double-vision, with some action compatible with school-based decisionmaking and some more characteristic of top-down direction.

State Boards Rethink the Curriculum

A fatal flaw in the American education system is its use of outmoded curriculum and instruction, the National Association of State Boards of Education concluded in its study of the curriculum, released in October 1988. The basic change needed, it said, is a transition to a system that stresses student performance "rather than seat time," as in the current method of using Carnegie units for high school graduation requirements.

The NASBE statement, "Rethinking Curriculum: A Call for Fundamental Reform,"[6] sets out core areas to be studied: language arts, mathematics and science, citizenship, fine arts, health and foreign languages. The emphasis should be on "essential" learning, with mastery of the subject the guiding measurement of students, rather than hours in class. Through the middle grades, at least, the curriculum should be interdisciplinary to help students make connections.

Instructional methods should move from teacher as lecturer to greater engagement of students in what they are learning through hands-on experiences, cooperative learning, discussion, and use of technology.

As for instructional materials, NASBE recommended more challenging and content-rich textbooks, less emphasis upon readability formulas and test-driven materials, and greater use of supplemental resources.

To accomplish these changes, school organizations will need to be more flexible and to foster initiative and exploration on the part of principals and teachers.

The NASBE statement also said states must hold school districts and schools accountable for student outcome results but give them latitude in deciding how they will reach state-defined goals.

Such changes will face many barriers, ranging from current rules and regulations to lack of funding, inflexible financing procedures, inadequate teacher training, and inertia, NASBE said. However, "it is up to state boards to help overcome these barriers wherever possible, not to set up new ones through reactive 'quick-fix' requirements."

Using Texts as Change Agents. California's campaign illustrates both views. Led by state Superintendent Bill Honig, it is all-encompassing and significant because of that state's influence on textbook content for the rest of the country. Using a statewide commission of teachers, curriculum experts, and administrators, the state education department produces guidelines for textbooks to be adopted in various subject areas. The overall charge to the committees under the commission has been to halt the "dumbing down" of textbooks.

In 1985, the California Board of Education, based on recommendations of the Commission, refused to accept science textbooks that ignored major scientific theories, such as evolution. In 1987, the state board rejected all mathematics texts submitted until publishers rewrote their texts to conform to the math committee's standards.

The 1988 adoption process for English/language arts textbooks bogged down in controversy temporarily but basically stuck to the principles of the English-Language Arts Framework. The criteria illustrate how deeply curriculum revision could affect teaching. The textbooks were judged, for example, on their use of original literature that employed ethical, aesthetic, and cultural values; integrated listening, speaking, reading, and writing into every unit; placed skills into context, not in isolation; and articulated these characteristics from kindergarten through grade 12.

"Standardized testing has become the arbiter of social mobility, yet there is more regulation of the food we feed our pets than of the tests we give our kids."

Robert Schaeffer
Public Education
Director, FairTest

Other recommendations of the Commission further exemplify how textbook adoption can be used as leverage for change:

- It turned down all of the spelling programs because they failed to teach spelling in a reading and writing context.
- It recommended against programs with skill pads, sets of drill cards, blackline masters, workbooks, and posters, as well as kits that emphasized one-word, fill-in-the-blank responses.
- It warned against programs that cover language fragmentally.
- It asked publishers to put a "consumer warning label" on textbooks listing literary works that had been abridged or excerpted.

Textbook quality ties into other concerns of those who seek more challenging content in the classroom. Harriet Tyson-Bernstein, a leading critic of current textbook quality, points out that textbook publishers cram too much into texts because of separate state adoption procedures, resulting in superficial treatment; accept poor writing; use computerized readability formulas instead of literary quality; and cater to standardized testing as a judge of content. The result, she says, is that students are bored with their textbooks.

New debates over textbook quality will deal with more than social content, according to Tyson-Bernstein. School administrators and policymakers "will have to be able to consider the complex relationships between pedagogy and subject matter, between desirable goals and the limitations of time in class and space in books."

Standardized Curriculum Not Favored. Actions to improve the curriculum and its content that depend on national and state initiatives run the risk of being seen as antithetical to the restructuring of education. In Philadelphia, for example, teachers initially were highly critical of a standardized curriculum adopted for all grades because of administrative pressure. It inhibited flexibility for individual teachers, they said. Similar criticisms have been made of statewide curriculum regulations, such as in New York and North Carolina.

The Pittsburgh schools took a middle road that has been well-accepted by teachers and administrators. Groups of teachers, administrators, and curriculum experts worked on objectives in each subject for each grade, synthesizing them into a list of 20 objectives. Teachers spend a minimum of 60 percent of their time on those objectives; district-developed tests that cover the objectives are given several times a year for diagnostic purposes. The results also are reported to parents, who have been given information about each year's objectives by subject area.

Not Such a Gift After All

This decade's emphasis upon higher academic standards should have been a boon for gifted and talented students, but a forum of experts in education of the gifted and talented, sponsored by the *Roeper Review,*[7] surprisingly expressed strong doubts.

The future of education for the gifted may be brighter because of recent reforms, noted A. Harry Passow of Teachers College/Columbia University, but the subtleties of what is happening may be harmful in the long run. Educational excellence is being defined too narrowly; accountability is becoming too reliant on standardized test scores, which can lead to a narrowing of the curriculum. The attention has been on taking "more" rather than providing

more advanced and richer content; and there has been too little attention to encouraging higher expectations of minority children and youth.

"If cooperation, not just competition, original contributions to society, acceptance of non-conforming, equity, equal opportunity, and democracy are the social goals of gifted education," said E. Susanne Richert, "then...some of the reforms are real hindrances." Director of gifted programs for the Educational Improvement Center at Sewell, New Jersey, Richert said that "the increased stress on externally imposed quantitative evaluation can be powerful obstacles to the creation of cooperation and democratic procedures among students and teachers in the classroom." So-called "standards of excellence," she added, could become "mind-forged manacles" that inhibit the development of talent among the nation's brightest students.

Mathematics. Of particular importance to the business community and national policymakers is the nation's talent pool of mathematicians and scientists. The curriculum deficiencies and lack of interest and skill of young people in science have concerned national commissions for at least five years, producing a variety of proposals for change. The most thoroughly researched may well be math education. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics spent two years drawing up new standards which would radically change the teaching of math; these were adopted by the organization in the spring of 1988. The Mathematical Sciences Education Board also has produced a blueprint for reform. Both sets of new curricula approaches emphasize the integration of math concepts and earlier introduction of fields, such as algebraic concepts and geometry taught in elementary grades. They also emphasize critical thinking and problem solving and greater use of technologies.

Science. Similar changes are underway in science education, with some proponents seeing combined reforms in math and science teaching as engines of restructuring of schools. By including scientists in the development of curriculum and programs, using community resources, depending on hands-on application and contextual teaching of the two subjects, math and science instruction could form the core of change, they contend. More than any other subjects, the resources are there. For example, the National Science Foundation in fiscal 1989 had $140 million at its disposal for pre-collegiate math and science reform activities, one of the largest discretionary funds for education at the federal level.

How a science curriculum could become a model for restructuring has been outlined by Senta Raizen, director of the National Center for the Improvement of Science Teaching and Learning.[8] She suggested that:

- Time in the classroom be used more efficiently and expanded through melding out-of-school science activities with formal classroom instruction and homework, using modern telecommunications technology.
- Science curriculum in elementary school consist of a coherent sequence of core topics that build on the students' experience and environment and advance to increasingly descriptive knowledge and abstract concepts.
- Science courses in secondary schools reflect a parallel progression of courses in the life and physical sciences at least through grade 11, instead of the current stand-alone courses.
- Scientists, teachers from relevant grade levels, science educators, employers, and others with interest in and understanding of current needs in science education define the goals and the core knowledge expected of all students.
- Hands-on experiences in elementary school and laboratory investigations in secondary school be indispensable parts of science instruction.
- Science instruction be based on the most current research on science learning, science teaching, and teacher education.
- Improvements in science education be coordinated with similar improvements in the assessment of student knowledge about science.

Although each of these reforms deserves exploration and development, Raizen adds that a rethinking of any curriculum requires an overall view--of time, sequencing, content, and instructional strategy.

"Curriculum reform, no matter how soundly based, will not by itself enhance educational productivity unless it is accompanied by concomitant changes in teaching and in classroom and school organization," she said.

English. In July 1987 a cross-section of leadership from English and language arts specialties met for 21 days at a retreat in Maryland to assess the language needs of students and map the future direction of English instruction. The conference's report was the first effort in more than 20 years to take a new look at the subject, from kindergarten through college instruction.[9]

Objecting to reform efforts that support "inert information...poured raw into minds not actively engaged in reading, thinking, writing, and talking," the English Coalition report called for classrooms to become "communities of learners," in which the teacher-coach helps students work at problem-solving and exploratory tasks. Group projects would integrate reading, discussion, and writing.

The English curriculum should be consistent from kindergarten through college, according to the Coalition. Students "would be constantly engaged in using the language arts--reading challenging literature from a broad spectrum of writers, talking and writing to express ideas, discussing how language works, and learning how to find and analyze information."

Elementary language arts instruction would aim for students to become readers and writers who like to learn. They would have a broad range of materials and books to work with. Writing would be taught as a process of planning, composing, revising, editing, and proofreading.

Secondary English instruction would give students constant practice in reading, writing, speaking, and listening--"a major aim should be to have students read deeply in diverse literary traditions and write for a range of different purposes."

The report criticizes dependence upon basal reading systems and heavy use of standardized testing, as well as large classes and "prescribed curricula and textbooks unsuited to students' needs."

Technology: A Tool for Restructuring? Will technology dehumanize education or will it change it significantly? The ranks of those who fear the effects of technology on education perhaps are thinning, as computers and videodiscs become more prevalent in classrooms. Yet, technology's perceived ability to transform education remains unfulfilled. Although mid-1980's surveys of pre-collegiate use of computers found enough hardware in the schools to have a significant impact on instruction, the first National Assessment of Educational Progress report on computer competence, based on 1986 data, revealed "that the average American student has little more than a passing acquaintanceship with the computer." Further, Congress' Office of Technology Assessment reported in 1988 that those students who do use computers average little more than one hour a week. Generally, it is used to reinforce traditional teaching practices. One reason may be that only one-third of the nation's teachers had completed even 10 hours of computer training, and most of that concerned learning about computers, not how to teach with them.

In other words, the potential of new technologies to transform learning is unrealized except in those few classrooms, schools or school districts where individual initiative and know-how has pioneered computer-assisted instruction. But even such individual leadership often is hampered by poor quality software and the inability of research and development in educational technology to keep up with its rapid changes. OTA, in its report *Power On! New Tools for Teaching and Learning*,[10] outlines priorities for research that would fulfill the potential of new technologies to restructure learning. These include:

- Intelligent tutoring systems that are responsive to the individual learner.
- Applications that exploit the computer's ability to be a multimedia controller, enriching curriculum with video, graphic, and audio components.
- Simulations, microworlds, and laboratories that extend understanding through exploration, manipulation, and guided discovery.
- Integrated tools and "intelligence extenders" that help students move beyond low-level tasks and concentrate on more demanding problem solving skills.
- New assessment measures that track learning, diagnose students' conceptual understandings, and evaluate the attainment of complex skills.
- Design tools, "authorizing systems," and "knowledge kits" that enable teachers to create and customize their own teaching materials.

- New curricula, based on the skills students need in the information age.

Canada's progress on these research tasks for educational technology is significant, particularly that conducted by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. At one of the first seminars under the "Tomorrow's Schools" Project of the Holmes Group, Marlene Scardamalia of the institute reported on an experimental network she and her colleagues have established in elementary schools in Toronto.[11] It is an example of how teaching and learning could be restructured through using the computer.

> **"Confronted with a technological revolution transforming the rest of society, schools can cling to traditional forms and ways of operating--but only at the cost of becoming ever more alienated, obsolete, and ultimately irrelevant to that society."**
>
> **Lewis Perelman**
> **"Technology and Transformation of Schools"**
> **National School Boards Association**

The network, called the Computer-Supported Intentional Learning Environments project, allows students of all grades to share a communal database of text and graphical notes entered onto the network by students, teachers, parents, and volunteers. Covering writing, reading, history, math, and science, the project encourages students to collaborate in small, mixed-ability groups. Teachers provide a "scaffolding" of knowledge-building strategies that help students turn their curiosity and freedom to search for understanding into self-reliant learning.

The starting point for instruction is questions from the students. Students in all grades contribute and ask for information, then publish their findings. Assessment is on the basis of their contributions.

According to Scardamalia, "learning becomes explanation-driven rather than task-driven." The focus shifts from survey-like coverage of the curriculum to an indepth approach which encourages students to branch out into other bodies of knowledge. The problem with ordinary use of the computer, she says, is that it is restricted to coaching students until they are good in a particular discipline. Her work at the institute is going a different way:

> What the students need to realize is that the computer is a forum for communication. They have the knowledge. They have the data base....The computer as a knowledge medium starts bringing students at different levels of ability together because they're solving problems....Once you turn students around to saying what are the problems that fascinate them, you can set the curriculum, but they go very quickly to deep concepts that are their curiosities about these things. The students drive people with very expert knowledge to explain, 'What are atoms?' 'How does chlorophyll work?' 'Where are these genes we talk about?' If they have the contexts where they can go into depth in subject matter, they start driving knowledge resources in interesting ways.... What's frightening is that students are taking control of where the knowledge is going to go, and as teacher you're backed into areas where you're really ignorant and you've got to study a lot....
>
> How do you create sustaining contexts for this? You've got to restructure the whole school to start letting this happen. Until you unfold the whole thing, it won't work. We need freedom for experimental contexts to change the whole thing around, and small pockets where we can do it in an experimental way. Then you have 13 years of everybody helping everybody learn.

Changing the Evaluation System

One factor that distinguishes the current move toward change in education from previous major turning points is that policymakers demand accountability. Actually, stronger accountability measures preceded restructuring by a decade or more, as states adopted minimal competency testing for both students and teachers. By 1988, 48 states had adopted testing programs or made provisions for local testing that monitored performance in school districts.

Yet, both accountability and testing are issues on the table as policymakers and educators wrestle with restructuring of schools.

Definitions of accountability are changing, notes Marc Tucker, president of the National Center on Education and the Economy at Rochester, New York. In the past, educators have been asked "to account for" such factors as student test scores, dropout rates, or college attendance rates and funding of particular programs, despite the fact that school personnel had little latitude in decisions affecting these outcomes. The public's attitude now is about personal responsibility at the school building level, Tucker says. The public today is asking: "If kids don't perform, who is responsible and what happens to them?"

States Changing Views on Accountability. Indeed, the 1988 update by the National Governors' Association of its blueprint for education, outlined in 1986, illustrates the changes taking place in state policymaking toward accountability. States are looking for results, as these recommendations show:

- ***Test what is important to know***, not just what is easy to measure. States need to develop new ways of assessing higher-order skills, not limit their efforts to pencil-and-paper tests.
- ***Do not rely on tests alone*** as measures of school performance. In the future, states will need to rely on a broader range of indicators of student behavior and school performance--such as dropout rates, course enrollment patterns, class size, and instructional practices.
- ***Obtain performance data*** from each school and issue annual report cards on individual schools (already a fact of life in several states).
- ***Link results to rewards and penalties*** for schools. In spite of increased state attention to results, specific state actions rarely are triggered by especially good or especially poor performance at the district or school building. Only nine states provide financial rewards or other recognition to schools or districts with especially high achievement levels. Only four states reward schools with increased resources for excellent performance. This latter strategy may become a national policy, if proposals outlined by President George Bush become a reality, but many interpret it as further evidence of the rich getting richer and those without resources, getting poorer. About a half-dozen states have procedures to intervene in school districts with a persistent lack of academic progress; several more have authority to intervene because of financial failure.

Similar or stronger policy initiatives regarding accountability were proposed by a study group appointed by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement. Generally, the group recommended less emphasis upon test scores, more upon incentives for both high-performing and low-performing schools. It advised states to:

- Make the purpose of accountability systems clear.
- Include multiple indicators not only of students but also of teacher and administrator quality, funding, curricula, and community support.
- Select indicators aligned with the goals of the state or district, particularly those that would emphasize higher order skills.
- Make accountability data public and appropriate for different audiences.
- Develop accountability systems that are useful to districts and schools, other than as reports to the state level.
- Use multiple criteria to identify low-performing schools and districts and provide careful procedures for intervention that give the schools and districts opportunities to improve.
- Similarly, use multiple criteria to identify high-performing schools and districts, based on a state's definition of high performance, and implement a broad range of programs and incentives to recognize these schools.

Most assessment experts also emphasize that a school's past performance should be the frame of reference for interpreting indicators of progress. Jane David, in a paper for the Center for Policy Research in Education, notes that, "if attendance and test scores decrease while retentions and expulsions increase, district administrators will want more information." She suggests that "focus groups" be used to gather information from teachers and administrators on "soft" indicators.

Assessment Tools Scrutinized. It is not only state policies toward accountability and testing that are under review. Both the SAT and the ACT programs are being revised to assess higher-order skills and to provide better diagnostic data. The National Teacher Examinations will be replaced in 1992 by a broader assessment system, given at different periods of training and similar to the National Board of Professional

Teaching Standards' emphasis upon knowledge of content and demonstrated classroom skills.

So, what effect will this have on district and teacher testing policies? On the one hand, the upcoming state-by-state comparisons of achievement data, under the auspices of the National Assessment of Educational Progress, will underscore testing for public accountability. The flip side of the issue, however, is a movement away from standardized testing because of its potential to skew the curriculum and its unsuitability for the critical thinking, interdisciplinary approaches recommended for restructured schools.

The "smattering of nationally representative multiple-choice questions" used in standardized testing "cannot reveal the extent to which disciplined inquiry has occurred," comment Doug Archbald and Fred Newmann in ***Beyond Standardized Testing***, a report for the National Association of Secondary School Principals.[12] Further, they say, "the tests offer few, if any, opportunities to demonstrate comprehension of integrated forms of knowledge" or to demonstrate true mastery of a subject.

What teachers, administrators, and schools should be shaping in their test programs, to align them with a more challenging school environment, has been outlined by Eva Baker, director of the UCLA Center for the Study of Evaluation.[13] These steps include:

- More than one measure of a single phenomenon, such as reading comprehension, to allow for corroboration from different sources--but with no expectation that all students need to take all measures.
- More than one kind of testing format, such as multiple-choice and written answers.
- Tests that give students adequate time to perform serious cognitive tasks.
- Tests that measure both the content (what) and the process (how) that students use to solve complex problems of understanding.
- Tests that can be analyzed to guide instructional planning.
- Test results that are understandable, timely, and useful for teachers in instruction and planning.
- Reports of test results that are fair to students, teachers, and schools.

...With Portfolio in Hand

Vermont is the first state in the country to adopt a totally new approach to student assessment. Teachers, administrators, communities, and the Department of Education are designing a plan, to begin in 1992, that will assess all students in grades 4 through 11 in writing and math using a combination of test results and a portfolio of student work. The writing assessment, for example, will include a writing sample scored by Vermont teachers, as well as three papers evaluated by trained assessors. Similarly, the math assessment will mix standardized testing and assessment of a student work portfolio.

The state had an advantage in working out this plan. Before the portfolio approach was adopted in 1988, Vermont did not have a state testing system, nor was the state education department under any kind of mandate to develop one. Vermont Commissioner of Education Richard Mills says the state benefitted from being able to work with parents and educators in a no-threat situation; the process produced a "richer" vision about student mastery. The Vermont plan, according to Mills, is one that "supports instruction, rather than conflicting with it."

Choice As a Tool for Restructuring

Parental choice in education, as well as magnet schools, may seem more of a political issue for school districts and other policymakers than one of restructuring, basically, the instructional environment for teachers and students.

Proponents of these strategies, however, see a direct alignment between schools of choice and restructured schools. Often, schools of choice embody characteristics of school-site management because their curriculum and faculty are oriented around a particular mission. Faculty are selected for their interest in the special offering of the school (in the case of a magnet school) and frequently have more flexibility in designing the program.

A number of reforms being suggested have been typical of alternative schools for some time, according to Mary Ann Raywid of Hofstra University, a leading researcher on alternative education.[14] She lists:

- Reduced size of classes and/or schools and increased personalization.
- A strong ethos and sense of community.
- Greater school-site autonomy and teacher decisionmaking.
- Recognition of the school as the unit of change.
- More parents and community involvement in a wider variety of roles.
- More collaboration and collective responsibility among teachers.
- Integrated curricula.
- Cooperative learning, greater adaptation of content and method to individual learners, small group and individualized instruction, independent study and learning through school and community service.
- Assumption of greater responsibility for learning by students.

"Literacy is more than acquiring the mechanics of reading and writing. It is saying what something means, hypothesizing outcomes, and comparing and evaluating. These are the skills that future employers want."

Shirley Brice-Heath

Raywid argues that many teachers do not want the added responsibilities of school-site decisionmaking. However, when schools of choice also foster teacher choice, the result is a better match between the goals and organization of the school and the individual proclivities of teachers.

The overall results of schools of choice also mirror the desired results from restructured schools, says Raywid. "In Manhattan's Spanish Harlem, where test scores used to place District 4 at the very bottom of the city's list of 32 community school districts, 62 percent of the students now read at or above grade level," she says. "Meanwhile, studies of 41 magnet schools in New York State, 84 in Los Angeles, and 14 in Montgomery County, Maryland, all found students' reading and math scores above district and/or national averages."

Choice plans began as a desegregation device but quickly expanded as a means of satisfying parental desires for tailored programs. At the same time, prominent national and state policymakers came to the conclusion that greater choice among schools would be a subtle leverage to improve schools by introducing competition.

As a state strategy, Minnesota has led the way, gradually expanding on its plan that, first, allowed high school upperclassmen to attend higher education institutions, then permitted students to transfer to other districts. Beginning in the fall of 1989, choice was to become statewide with the addition of the final stage which extended the opportunity to enroll in other districts to students in districts with less than 1,000 enrollment.

At the beginning of 1989, at least 13 other state governors or legislators were prepared to discuss similar choice plans for their states. Choice plans were among the recommendations of the 1986 *Time for Results* report from the National Governors' Association.

A major criticism of choice or magnet school plans concerns those students and schools bypassed by choice alternatives. A study of magnet schools in Chicago, for example, found that high schools not part of the magnet program suffered from the twin problems of more intensified needs among their students, yet fewer resources. New York's Commissioner of Education, Thomas Sobol, has proposed that parents whose children attend failing schools be allowed to transfer to any other school in the district at district expense. Seattle, Washington, which has adopted a new student-assignment plan to replace its citywide desegregation plan, allows parents a broad choice of schools, yet also provides resources and other ways to improve for those schools that do not recruit an adequate number of students.

Types of Choice Plans. Public school choice plans are not all alike, emphasizes "A State Policymaker's Guide to Public School Choice," [15] prepared by the Education Commission of the States. It describes at least six types:

- ***Interdistrict*** and ***postsecondary*** options emphasize the rights of families to choose among existing public schools.
- ***Second-chance*** plans extend interdistrict choice and postsecondary options to at-risk youth, offering them alternatives to traditional schooling.
- ***Controlled-choice*** plans require all families to choose the school their child attends and are focused on achieving equity.

- ***Teacher-initiated schools*** feature restructuring by the faculty of each school.
- ***Magnet schools*** set school improvement and family choice within a framework of schools offering special resources.

"Public school choice is part of overall efforts around the country to restructure our education system and to create incentives for schools to improve," says ECS President Frank Newman. "This issue points up one of the best aspects of our nation and our education systems--the freedom to try new methods, new ideas."

Federal Initiatives on Choice

A gradual buildup of proposals and strategies to promote greater choice, beginning with support for tuition tax credits and evolving into support for public school choice plans, has characterized federal policy throughout the 1980s.

Current initiatives include:

- Convening of regional strategy meetings to develop innovations and to promote choice among the states.
- Creation of a special task force in the office of the Secretary of Education to promote, encourage and evaluate choice programs.
- An emphasis upon choice in the grants made under the Secretary's Fund for Innovation in Education.
- An agrgressive publications effort on choice, aimed primarily at parents.
- An evaluation of the choice programs in Minnesota.

According to Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos, schools have become too distant from parents. "The concept of choice returns the crucial element of parent and student involvement," he told the Education Press Association in May 1989. Further, he said, choice offers an opportunity to "infuse our schools with the ingredients that are essential to any enterprise--entrepreneurship and accountability."

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CHAPTER XI

Leadership in the

context of restructured schools

is not diminished; rather, restructuring

requires new skills which ultimately will allow

school leaders to redesign and enhance their profession as well as secure

for themselves an exciting dimension to their work....

LEADERSHIP FOR NEW SCHOOLS

Change is risky. Under the all-encompassing rubric of "restructuring," the changes being asked of educators, administrators, and teachers alike, pose particular hazards because they demand new attitudes as well as new roles. As envisioned by the framers of restructuring--the researchers, businesspeople, foundations, and pioneers among school districts--radically changing the nation's public schools means calling upon truly different skills to run the nation's public schools.

The reforms of the past few years, while providing the groundwork for restructured schools, generally have supported the status quo and people's current mode of working, imposing no "large costs or undue risks," according to David Plank of the Department of Administrative and Policy Studies at the University of Pittsburgh.[1] He explains why structural reforms are hard to achieve:

> ...(S)uch changes call into question the legitimacy and claim on public resources of the educational system. They disrupt familiar organizational routines that are valued by administrators, teachers, and parents. They often imply large real costs for current employees of educational systems, in return for presumed future benefits which are widely diffused, difficult to specify, and impossible to measure. They challenge common understandings about what educational systems look like and how they work.

Plight of Educational Innovation

There are reasons for such skepticism among school administrators and teachers, primarily the absence, for various causes, of long-term commitment to change. Mapping the birth-to-death cycle of a dozen educational innovations with which he had been associated, Glenn Latham of Utah State University discovered a consistent pattern familiar to many in education. Born in a moment of great interest, an innovation is implemented quickly but peaks in about a year and one-half. It then experiences a precipitous decline and dies out in about four years. Latham, writing in the September 1988 issue of *Principal*,[2] found several reasons why innovations fail, including disillusionment with the change because it was more difficult to implement than had been estimated, required too much effort or discipline, and/or moved too slowly; the innovators depart and their substitutes lack training or interest; funds run out; and follow-through is lacking, such as accountability or support from administrators.

The list of major innovations that have taken hold quickly in the public schools is very short, in the opinion of Larry Cuban of Stanford University, former superintendent of the Arlington, Virginia, public schools. Incremental changes are fairly easy to achieve, but they may not make much difference in the education of children, he says. The time needed for substantive changes may need to be measured in terms of decades rather than years.

Changing education today, however, exists in an unprecedented context. As noted earlier in this report, that context is dramatically different in terms of the opportunities and skills needed by the graduates of the schools, the variety of influences being brought to bear upon educational leadership to effect change, and the scope of the reforms proposed.

Policymaking for education hasn't been this active for a very long time. And, just like implementing innovations, policymaking has its own pitfalls. There is a danger, say Milbrey McLaughlin and Richard Elmore in *Steady Work*,[1] that too many policymaking actors will heap their demands upon the individual school, which will try to accommodate them, becoming, in the process, demoralized and ineffective. The scenario brings to mind an African proverb, the researchers note: "When the elephants fight, only the grass suffers."

Avoiding Past Mistakes

Leadership in this new era of education policymaking is faced with the challenge to avoid mistakes of the past. It first needs to understand the limits of policy as a tool of reform, McLaughlin and Elmore advise, and deal with four major problems:

- ***Closing the gap between policy and practice.*** Policymakers tend to mandate on the basis of an ideal situation, seldom considering the resources and time needed to implement such changes. A more viable way to effect change would be to place the responsibility for change in the hands of practitioners (as the ideal school-based decisionmaking process would do), using policy to initiate development rather than carry out decrees. This would entail "commissioning people who work in real schools to fashion workable solutions to real problems, and allowing those solutions the opportunity to fail and the time to succeed."
- ***Accommodating variability.*** Policy deals with abstractions, which can be an advantage if it allows variability but a distinct disadvantage if it imposes rigid constraints on variations in practice. By being allowed to work out various means to an end, educators can fashion models that will be more credible to them than any produced by regulations or higher levels of administrative and legislative authority.

- ***Learning the functions of rules.*** When rules become more important than competence on a consistent basis, then "everyone looks to rules for the solution to every practical problem. Schools cease to produce results and produce only paper." The researchers contend that rules must be understood as only setting standards of fairness and expectations. Teachers should be able to vary what and how they teach and principals allowed to carry out reforms that may deviate substantially from the personal tastes of supervisors, so long as the result is to move "in the direction of agreed-upon content."
- ***Learning to create effective organizations.*** If schools are, as some charge, "dismal places to work and learn," it is because people created them as such. Unmaking them requires more than following the dictates of others; it involves "invention, commitment, and failure." Policymaking should encourage these things. If, however, it penalizes practitioners who attempt to make changes, they will find other places to work, and those who are left will accommodate to "a regime of failure." Research and experience provide a base for effective school organization, the researchers conclude, "but that knowledge is useless until it is translated into the experience of principals, teachers, and district administrators. That translation requires development, and development requires time, accommodation, and tolerance for error."

"Top-down" policymaking, such as that imposed by states during most of the 1980s, seemed to be afflicted with amnesia," in the opinion of William Lowe Boyd of Pennsylvania State University. As cautious as McLaughlin and Elmore about such policymaking and the many recommendations of various commissions, Boyd believes the protagonists were ignorant of what has been learned about implementing change in schools. Writing in the journal, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,*[4] he comments that "(s)uch heavy-handed attempts to ram reform down teachers' throats, and to test and closely monitor teacher performance, fly in the face of the findings of the implementation literature, not to mention research on teaching and modern theories of management."

However, Boyd does not recommend a local laissez faire approach, either. His would be a simultaneous loose-tight knit of policymaking and practice. Federal and state levels need to establish key values and parameters so that local levels do not drift and respond mainly to localized values, he says. Policymakers need to avoid the extremes of both top-down and bottom-up approaches and be persistent. There may be failures in the short-run, but the balance between professionalization and bureaucratization can be worked out and reorganization accomplished if it is allowed to change opinion over time.

Recognizing the Realities

The shift to school-based decisionmaking may find a home in organizational theory. A growing number of researchers lumped together as "non-orthodox theorists" challenge the idea of schools as closed managerial systems in which policy manages to penetrate the classroom. They see schools as "loosely coupled," rather than as rational organizations which assume that policy gets translated into practice.

Describing these new theories in the *Educational Researcher,*[5] Paul Hechinger reviews the work of sociologist John Meyer and education researchers Jane Hannaway, Larry Cuban, Terry Moe, and John Chubb, among several, which suggests that school management is much more complex than what tight coupling would indicate. External environments change managerial behavior, for example. Hannaway's findings show that changing bureaucratic structures in schools with high-achieving students has little effect on teachers, but teachers with low-achieving students depend much more upon the organization for guidance and rewards.

However, Cecil Miskel, dean of the School of Education at the University of Michigan, comments that the non-orthodox theorists seem to be "amused" by policymakers trying to impose rationality on schools. He believes that "the realities of schools are much more complicated than either loose coupling or tight coupling people would lead you to believe."

One New Context for Policymaking. If public education has become dependent, willingly or unwillingly, upon external controls, how can educational leadership, through policymaking, help schools shake loose of this dependence and allow the relationships within classrooms to change for the better?

On that score, the restructuring movement overflows with ideas. To give some flavor of the scope which could be considered at different levels, this report provides examples of some of the changes being sought through heightened policymaking--and their radical departure from the current way of doing business in education.

For example, Richard Elmore of Michigan State University addresses a set of five proposals primarily to state and local policymakers that would require "extraordinary measures." But they are feasible, he says, if they are undertaken with the strong support of a coalition of teachers, administrators, policymakers, and clients. Further, they must be given time to develop. They would be significant particularly in school systems with a high proportion of at-risk students; they could begin as a sub-system within a large district. He proposes:

- ***Dramatic reductions in the scale of schools.*** A reasonable measure would be an organization small enough that every adult can know each student personally, or probably no larger than 200 students. A current school facility might have as many as eight or 10 smaller schools and dramatically fewer middle managers. Face-to-face contact would replace bureaucratic routine.
- ***Choice of the technology of instruction resides with the school.*** Any technology, including peer tutoring, instructional aides, computers, community volunteers, student teachers, which is feasible within the existing districtwide expenditures, should be the prerogative of the school. The school also should select instructional materials and purchase outside services under limited regulation, for example, contracting with other schools or with private vendors for services. Expectations "should drive the selection of technology," and schools should have the flexibility within resource contraints to determine how they will reach those expectations. Structures above the school would negotiate expectations and objectives and set resource constraints for the system overall. Then, they would stay out of the way of decisions made within schools.

- ***Choice of internal organization resides with the school.*** Schools would have no standard roles, including that of principal, although each school should have one person designated as the contact with the central administration, according to Elmore. A governing committee would select the initial organization, which might be a traditional one, or composed of professional partnerships, or rely on a business manager. Again, as with the technology used, the form of the organization should serve the expectations and objectives that are established.
- ***Choice of school by clients and educators.*** Parents, students, and educators should be allowed to choose their school within reasonable constraints on capacity. Any group of educators with a coherent set of expectations that meet district goals and pass a peer review should be allowed to start a school and be given a grace period of two years to attract a minimum number of students. "Creating a well-designed and run system of choice could be an extraordinarily interesting and engaging activity for central administrators," says Elmore. "It would put central administrators in a position to influence instructional content by forming new ventures and orchestrating the movement of clients and personnel, rather than by applying rules and procedures."
- ***Creation of policy "free zones."*** Any school should have the authority to ask for a waiver of any policy requirement that it can demonstrate has an adverse effect on its ability to meet its negotiated expectations. The central administration and school board should evaluate the requests and negotiate for state and federal waivers.

"Leadership, in its most constructive form, is about making the intellectual climate of a school powerful–making ideas and important generative purposes central. Leadership needs to be about making purposes clear and vital, part of the ongoing dialectic of schools."

Vito Perrone
Associate Director, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

Says Elmore: "The medium of exchange between schools and their authorizing agencies should be performance and not compliance."

These five proposals, says Elmore, should shift "the locus of responsibility and engagement from impersonal regulation and standards outside the school to the relationships between students and teachers inside the school."

Another Viewpoint. To give the Holmes Group some thoughts as the participating institutions prepare their view of tomorrow's schools, David Berliner of Arizona State University offered his vision at a regional meeting of the group.[6] It included:

- A school ungraded from kindergarten to eighth grade.
- Teachers as child sponsors or advocates, not judges.
- Pedagogical laboratories located in regions to provide opportunities for teachers to practice.
- Competition among teachers with more than five years experience for jobs as clinical professors (they should teach a large portion of the teacher education program).
- Schools open past 3 p.m. for cross-age tutoring; access to the library, study halls, music practice rooms, and athletic facilities. Teachers would work afternoon and Saturday shifts.
- Schools open year-round, with 12-week cycles.
- Mentoring of new teachers and continuing education of experienced teachers as a school-site responsibility.
- Teachers with more than five years' experience holding two-thirds of the staff jobs in state departments of education, working on two- or three-year assignments.
- Community responsibility for providing opportunities for teachers to enjoy the arts (half-price tickets to all public events).
- Abolishment of all existing school districts by the year 2000, with new districts created out of a single high school and its feeder schools.

A Less Radical Context. For a less ambitious start, policymakers might consider the eight components of restructuring that Glen Harvey and David Crandall of the Regional Laboratory for Educational Improvement of the Northeast and Islands believe to be critical.

Their paper, *A Beginning Look at the What and How of Restructuring,*[7] crystallizes the common elements of the many efforts at restructuring which they analyzed. These components both overlap and interact with each other:

> **"One mark of political leadership is the capacity to surmount impediments imposed by separated powers and checks and balances through coalition building. It also is true that any number of external variables, political, social and fiscal, affect the education of children. By their nature, most are beyond the control of the people in the school buildings. Because of this, it's virtually impossible for the system to reform itself alone, and the astute observer, educator or not, will see this and welcome outside participation."**
>
> **William Chance**
> **State education reform analyst**

- Focus at the building level.
- Educate all students, with particular attention to those who traditionally have not done well in school.
- Clarify and raise expectations for all students.
- Personalize teaching and learning so they are more child-centered and less centered on the organization.
- Rethink and alter the roles and responsibilities of educational personnel to accommodate shared decisionmaking and shared leadership.
- Apply research and development knowledge to avoid costly mistakes and counter-productive efforts.
- Humanize the organizational climate so that it supports and nurtures all within it, including teachers as well as students.
- Involve parents and the community in important, not superficial, efforts at improving education.

Whether the effort comes from a state mandate or a grassroots demand, restructuring is a school-based phenomenon, says Douglas Fleming, director of the Massachusetts Leadership in Educational

Administration and Development Center at the regional laboratory. If it doesn't address fundamental concepts such as those above, it is merely "window-dressing," he says. "Autonomy, accountability, empowerment, involvement, decentralization--they all lead to a focus on ownership of the process of learning and a central focus on what is happening between teacher and student."

Implementing School-Based Management

How do these concepts and commonalities become a set of policies for local school officials? An example of such codification comes from a joint statement of the American Association of School Administrators, the National Association of Elementary School Principals, and the National Association of Secondary School Principals on school-based management. Implementing it requires a number of issues to be addressed by local leadership, including:

- ***Ongoing district support.*** Because of the fundamental changes implied in school-based management, the school board and the superintendent must understand the concept and solidly support the new system.
- ***Training.*** To be successful, school-based management requires substantial investments in training, particularly in human relations skills that will facilitate shared decisionmaking.
- ***New budgeting practices.*** Under school-based management, allocation of dollars shifts from formulas to instructional objectives, requiring flexibility and greater accountability.
- ***Time.*** Policies must allow for the changes to be implemented, monitored, and modified. They must not establish a "quick-fix" strategy.
- ***Access to information.*** Schools will need accurate and timely information, an important function for the central office.
- ***Communication.*** Because school-based management is an inclusionary process, policies to implement it must emphasize the sharing of information and communication among the various participants, including parents and community members.

Even the choice of words conveys a policy bias, in the opinion of Kenneth Sirotnik of the University of Washington and Richard Clark, deputy superintendent of the Bellevue, Washington, public schools.

"Talking about school-based management seems to imply an either/or interpretation; either the school makes all its own decisions, or all decisions are made elsewhere," they say." "There is a significant difference between talking about schools as centers of renewal and depicting them as bases for management." Most educators agree, they say, that the school should be the focal point of efforts to improve. There is less agreement, however, on viewing the school as the site "of professional inquiry and reflective practice--the place for the critical thinking, dialogue, decisionmaking, action, and evaluation that determine educational change." The former represents management, the latter means renewal.

To create schools as centers of renewal and inquiry, policies must give teachers and administrators significant periods of time away from instructional and routine duties to engage in critical inquiry together. This, in turn, may mean organizing the curriculum more efficiently and appointing all educators for 11-month terms, say Sirotnik and Clark.

View from the Bargaining Table

Another context of policymaking for the restructuring of schools is the collective bargaining process. Few of the efforts described in this report could have gone forward without the approval and trust of parties at the bargaining table. The barganing process can also inhibit change unless it is steeped in good will, and, according to Paul Hill of the RAND Corporation, that process begins by including teachers' unions in the initial stages of any planning for change. This was the experience of the six urban districts he studied for his report, *Educational Progress: Cities Mobilize to Improve Their Schools*."

In California, this necessity was formally recognized in a "Trust Agreement Project" initially tried in six school districts. Each district established teacher-administrator committees to address various components of school change, such as peer review and curriculum development. Developed by the California School Boards Association, the first year of the project involved the California Federation of Teachers. In the 1988-89 school year, the project

expanded to include districts represented by the California Teachers Association.

The trust-agreement committees, noted the first-year report of the project, transformed discussions between teachers and administrators "from a dialogue over positions to a conversation about mutual interests." Developed by faculty members at Claremont College and the University of California/Riverside, the trust agreement project was administered by Policy Analysis for California Education, a university-based group that is monitoring changes in the state's education system. The Stuart Foundation of San Francisco supported the project financially.

The historic agreement in Rochester, New York, between the school district and teacher union officials traded seniority and other privileges for markedly higher salaries for teachers. Another example of collective bargaining in line with restructuring efforts is the three-year accord in Phoenix, Arizona, that waives seniority provisions at a largely minority high school in exchange for reduced teaching loads that will allow teachers to tutor and counsel students, plan instruction and work with each other collegially. The plan reduces the teaching ratio to 90 students per teacher.

"I have become more and more convinced that the only way we're going to make a big difference in large, urban schools is by major restructuring," says Timothy Dyer, former superintendent of the Phoenix Union High School District. "Poor students can learn, but they need more contact time and assistance from teachers." Dyer was named the executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1989.

Different Schools, Different Skills. "Any attempt to describe a social process as complex as leadership inevitably makes it seem more orderly than it is," author and thoughtful commentator about leadership John Gardner once remarked to Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton. "Leadership is not tidy," he said.

Similarly, attempts to define leadership skills for a fluid, ambiguous movement such as school restructuring run the same risk as one trying to remold a bowl of Jello. The substance is there, but it begs having a definite shape. Further, unlike past modifications in leadership skills for educators, the current efforts encompass teachers as well as administrators. Superintendents and principals, it has been said, must become "leaders of leaders."

This means moving groups of people in the same direction through mostly noncoercive means and in a direction that is genuinely in their real long-term interests, says Dean Speicher, superintendent of the Penn-Harris-Madison School Corporation at Osceola, Indiana, and 1989-90 president of the American Association of School Administrators. He includes in the characteristics of effective leadership:

- A vision of what the organization can and should be, a vision that values all of the individuals and groups with a stake in the successes of the organization.
- Development of a set of strategies that will move the organization toward achieving the vision.
- Cooperation and teamwork from a network of people--a coalition, in fact--powerful enough to achieve those shared goals and strategies.
- A highly motivated group of key people in that network who are committed to making the vision a reality.

Empowerment. Throughout much of the literature about new leadership skills runs the word "empower." It begins at the highest levels of policymaking and eventually results in students with greater involvement in setting goals for their own learning. Some envision the role of "empowerer" as less challenging and less significant in the hierarchy of school administration. What would it mean particularly for an administrator?

James Heald, former chairman of the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Florida, and his faculty surveyed the literature on leadership to articulate specific skills needed for certain characteristics. They found, for example, that a manager's skills include:

- Monitoring people and resources
- Using time effectively
- Evaluating
- Delegating
- Communicating
- Securing and allocating resources

- Relating, reporting, and involving people
- Influencing the political environment
- Using technology effectively.

However, when they looked at the skills required to fulfill the role of "empowerer," the list grew much longer and more complex. These would include:

- Motivating
- Structuring organizations
- Team building
- Interacting
- Influencing
- Decisionmaking
- Communicating
- Leading
- Monitoring
- Facilitating
- Managing conflict
- Coaching
- Mentoring
- Assessing
- Providing feedback
- Tolerating ambiguity
- Diagramming
- Utilizing knowledge of cultures, norms and mores.

Surveying research in two fields, education and management, an American Association of School Administrators book, *Challenges for School Leaders*[10] found similarities between the two. A successful leader in schools or business will:

- Develop a long-term view, bringing together key decisionmakers in a community to make long-range plans.
- Utilize all resources needed for planning, such as an understanding of the coming changes in society and in education.
- Create a vision for the school or district and maintain that vision through planning and implementation.
- Possess outstanding management skills.
- Have effective communication and political skills in order to convey the vision and marshal resources for it.
- Recognize the importance of renewal, building constant change into the process.

In Rochester, New York, where the ground-breaking contract for teachers calls for new roles and responsibilities for them as well as higher salaries, the role of administrators is changing, too. A preliminary study of their attitudes, as the new plan went into effect, revealed a consensus about their new responsibilities and general agreement with them.

Writing about the research in *Educational Leadership*,[11] Linda Tinelli Shieve, chairperson of the Department of Educational Administration at the State University of New York/Oswego, found many of the administrators using the term "facilitator" to describe a new view of their authority. By this, she says, the administrators intended "to persuade, explain, assist, convince, monitor, model, develop, redefine, and encourage." The administrators, she concluded, looked forward "to a workplace where teachers join them as colleagues in decisionmaking."

The 21st Century Superintendent

What talents will the superintendent in the 21st century bring to his or her position? They will be human, technical, and conceptual, in the opinion of John R. Hoyle, professor of educational administration at Texas A&M University and the second Paul B. Salmon Memorial Lecturer at the 1988 AASA annual convention. As a member of a state-level education commission in Texas, Hoyle developed a view of what administrators need:

Human Skills. **"I envision an urbane witty world citizen--black, brown, white, male, or female--who realizes Confucius' admonition that learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous. This superintendent will possess a strong self-respect and respect for others and will have a high boiling point and high tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty. He/she will work in a much flatter organization and be comfortable with equal empowerment to others in the school setting. He/she will have strong skills in persuasion and will have earned equal status with other community leaders. Regardless of the size of the school or district, the leader will have a strong command of English and will be conversant in another language--preferably Spanish.... He/she will model integrity and honesty, find joy in the schools, be health conscious, and find humor in himself and in others."**

Technical Skills. "Twenty-first century school superintendents will have a large repertoire of instructional strategies--because instruction and learning will truly be the primary mission of schooling. They will have more knowledge about technology, the use of microcomputer programs and complete linkages to video and satellite TV, skills in the use of interactive TV to teach students in remote regions...and a commitment to lifetime learning, community education and industrial and corporate education for the labor force.

"These technical skills will give the school superintendent new insights into the nature and process of learning based on new research findings about the science of human cognition and on sophisticated analysis of instructional processes and classroom application....

"These 21st century leaders also will be excellent managers of resources, budgets, and strategic plans by being 'information brokers' and intuitive decisionmakers."

Conceptual, Futures Skills. "...Twenty-first century superintendents will be in tune with other state and national agencies and with business and industry. They will form collaborative efforts with personnel in other institutions. They will think holistically and be aware that all social institutions and corporations are interconnected. They will be futurists who use state-of-the-art forecasting, monitoring, and scanning technologies and will model intuitive, creative thinking, doing, and being."

Dealing on the Inside. In addition to developing a public mandate for change, superintendents in six urban school districts studied by a team from RAND developed tactics for dealing with their central office administrators, principals, and teachers in pushing them toward reforms. The researchers found that the superintendents developed similar strategies in three areas[12]:

- *Information.* "Superintendents who want school change increase the flow of information. They manage the media to keep their priorities and accomplishments in the public eye and to reinforce the belief that the schools still need help.... The superintendents in our sample believe that any area of school policy that is continually tracked and assessed will improve and that anything the superintendent monitors openly and shares with the public will be treated as important."

- ***Principals.*** "Five of the six superintendents articulated a common management philosophy: Manage schools by managing principals. They tried to remove organizational barriers between themselves and principals, in some cases by reorganizing the school system to remove an intervening administrative layer."
- ***Professional expectations.*** "Superintendents in our districts exemplified the 'tight-loose' metaphor popularized by *In Search of Excellence*. They were explicit and controlling about values and priorities but gave subordinates room to create their own tactical solutions to problems."

"In an environment of trust, teachers feel free to express deeply felt concerns about being devalued and overwhelmed with responsibility. When they are given release time by the district to observe, plan, and talk with one another, teachers provide significant support to their colleagues and they all grow professionally. They initiate changes and become creative in their classrooms. Teachers are energized and motivated and their feelings are contagious. Students benefit and colleagues and parents respond to these positive changes."

Ramona Berkey
Institute for Research on Teaching
Michigan State University

The six cities in the research study included Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Miami, Memphis and San Diego.

A Superintendent/Leader's View. Among those considered exceptionally strong educational leaders today is Pittsburgh's Superintendent Richard Wallace. His definition of leadership is simple: It is "a process of working with and through other people to get a job done." Wallace sees 10 key components to effective leadership by the superintendent:

- ***Educational leadership must be data-driven.*** The superintendent who promotes educational reform must constantly seek and process a variety of educational data and inquire as to its meaning. Planning must be data-based; it must constantly take stock of the status quo; it must be shaped by the latest research findings relevant to a particular problem. Implementation of programs, too, must be data-based, with the superintendent constantly monitoring program improvement efforts and gathering data from teachers, administrators, students, and parents. Finally, evaluation data should feed into the goal setting, planning, and implementation processes that are cyclical and continuous.
- ***Participatory planning is critical.*** Those persons most affected by any new program initiative must be involved in its planning. It is imperative that those who are to use an innovation or a new program alternative must acquire some sense of ownership by participating in the planning process.
- ***Respect must be communicated to the teachers and principals who develop programs.*** More often than not teachers and administrators have much more talent to generate solutions to problems than they recognize. Giving them opportunities to become involved in the planning and development process, providing positive feedback, and giving them opportunities to experience the sense of gratification are important in moving any reform movement forward.
- ***Risk-taking is essential.*** No worthwhile change will come about without taking risks. To provide effective leadership, the superintendent must pursue challenges that cause everyone to reach beyond his or her immediate performance level if educational reform is to be realized.
- ***Knowledge of the change process is important.*** Many change models are available to educators. It is important that the superintendent understand the dimensions of the change process and attend to them during program implementation.
- ***Leadership requires a vision of good education.*** It is important that sound pedagogical practices at the elementary, middle, and

secondary school level be clearly understood by the superintendent. He or she must know exactly what is expected in terms of teacher behavior, pupil behaviors, uses of instructional materials, and the like. Without such vision, educational leadership efforts will fail.

- ***Follow-through is essential.*** Many veteran teachers and administrators say, "I've seen superintendents come and I've seen them go and I'm still here." This comment reflects the fact that the superintendent's failure to follow through and evaluate new program initiatives guarantees they will not succeed. Follow- through is really a function of comprehensive planning, careful implementation, and thorough evaluation.
- ***Recognition of the key role that principals play in school improvement is vital.*** The old adage that good principals make good schools is quite correct. However, being a good principal requires that one be a strong instructional leader. Therefore, the superintendent as educational leader must take seriously the responsibility to develop that educational or instructional leadership capability in the principals. While instructional leadership itself may be somewhat of an elusive quality, the knowledge base with respect to instructional leadership is not. The knowledge of curriculum, models of instruction, and instructional evaluation can be taught, learned, and operationalized.
- ***Routine administrative matters must be delegated.*** Responsible administrators must free the superintendent to provide educational leadership. The superintendent must allocate time to meet with groups that are planning, developing, implementing, and evaluating instructional initiatives. By visiting schools and by demonstrating and communicating interest in instructional effectiveness, the superintendent will increase the likelihood that educational priorities will be achieved.
- ***The superintendent must model the educational leadership behavior that will be expected of principals and other administrators.*** If principals observe the superintendent engaged in data analysis, planning, developing, implementing, and evaluating instructional initiatives, they can adapt those behaviors to their own responsibility. If the superintendent models those behaviors listed above, the stage is set for other administrators to imitate that role within their own area of leadership.

Brainstorming About Leadership. There are other school administrators already quite skillful at the qualities deemed necessary to bring about change in schools. What do they think about the process of change and the skills they need for it? To find out, AASA sponsored a small meeting of "change-agents," teachers as well as administrators, who have earned a reputation for successfully implementing ideas or programs that resulted in improved education for children. The summer 1988 "Ideas Into Action Symposium" illustrated the elusive nature of a change agent's skills. It is much easier, the participants discovered, to do it than to describe how to effect change.

However, the discussions resulted in a clearer picture for those who participated of their values and skills. They agreed that leaders pay attention to the "exceptions," not the ordinary, in respect to challenges; value learning from experience and from mistakes; can see situations from the viewpoint of others; understand the incremental nature of change; are open to randomness in their thinking, the possibility that everything "will come together in the shower"; can scan elements of decisions and piece things together; and have an intuition as to when to attend to details.

All "work" in education is decisionmaking, this group decided. For the teacher, it may come at the "teachable moment"; for the administrator, it may be the political moment. But they also acknowledged that the present environment for educators runs counter to the collaborative, and reflective, needs of change agents. The administrators and teachers, given time to discuss basic issues together, found out at this brief meeting that, as teacher-author Patrick Welsh articulated, "we are all idealists. We want to have an impact on children." Successful leadership, they decided, means:

- Understanding one's legitimate power as a leader, whether it comes through authoritative structures or personal skills.
- Building a core of "true believers" by affirming that "this is important work".
- Understanding the "WIFM" factor--that others will want to know "what's in it for me?"
- Providing time to build up trust and commitment.
- Caring enough about an idea to see it through.

- Providing the necessary resources and giving the people involved a "depth of understanding" that will enable them to act with integrity.
- Identifying and heading off those who would block change.

A Mutual Need

One of the major conclusions of the AASA "Ideas Into Action Symposium" was that administrators and teachers who are risk-takers "need each other." If schools are to change, "adults talking to other adults about the nuts and bolts of educating children must be made part of the regular, daily 'work' of school problem solving and decisionmaking."

This emphasizes the role of administrators in fostering the leadership skills of teachers. Ann Lieberman of the University of Washington has found through working with teachers in leadership situations that they become expert in a comprehensive, interactive series of actions, including:

- Building trust and rapport
- Making an organizational diagnosis
- Building skill and confidence in others
- Using resources
- Dealing with the change process
- Managing the work

Stimulating leadership in teachers may "disturb some deeply rooted beliefs," says Lieberman, in an article reviewing the research on teacher leadership for Educational Leadership. Teachers themselves may not trust the intervention of others, including their own peers. The lack of desire to be involved in peer review by teachers in some districts would seem to support this comment by Lieberman. Another source of tension is an often imbedded in-school relationship in which principals and teachers are in a parent-child interaction.

To foster true collaboration in which teachers welcome new responsibilities and teachers and principals both can be leaders requires, among several steps, building colleagueship among teachers who have long been isolated from one another, says Lieberman. Teachers also need greater recognition and status, an enlarged reward structure, and a school structure that permits autonomy and flexibility.

Starting Change With Teachers. This kind of climate within a school was foreseen at the beginning of the decade by Harold Howe II of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University and former vice president for education and public policy of the Ford Foundation. Drawing upon the foundation's work in developing new approaches to school-based staff development, Howe outlined how school staff's could go about defining what they need in order to begin the process of change. They could ask such questions as:

- What can we do for ourselves by tapping the special skills and knowledge of the most talented among us?
- How can we draw on the immediate school community to strengthen what we do for students?
- What resources do we need that we lack now and which are the most important among them?
- How can we best use services available through the school district to make this a more effective school?
- Can we rethink what we are doing with programs that receive special funding?
- What released-time arrangements are possible for staff development, and how might we change them?
- What requirements of the school system tend to inhibit teaching and learning and how can we deal with them?
- What are the needs of individual teachers in the school for greater knowledge of subject matter as well as for improved teaching techniques, and how can each be helped to plan for career development?

Moving Principals to New Leadership. Another commentary on how to release the "extraordinary leadership capabilities" of teachers comes from Roland Barth of Harvard University, who helped established the nation's first university-based principals' academy. A school should become a community of leaders, where leadership is defined as "making what you believe in happen," says Barth. His ideas on how principals can move toward shared leadership include:[13]

- ***Articulating the goal.*** Principals may not be certain of their vision or may be reluctant to share it with others, but "the involvement of teachers in school leadership is much more likely to occur when the principal openly articulates his or her vision...."

> **"The process of real change begins with the leadership of one or more people who have a deeply-felt vision--call it a passionate vision--of a great future for their school; people who can raise their eyes high enough above the daily smog to see that ordinary kids can do wonderful things if the conditions are right; people who believe that having a great day at school is a lot less exhausting than having a lousy day; people with a faith that hard work directed at worthwhile goals can produce amazing results."**
>
> **Dennis Littky**
> **Principal**
> **Thayer High School, Winchester, NH**

- ***Relinquishing.*** The popular, and conservative, view of leadership is that "one should accumulate and consolidate, not relinquish," but to be an effective principal in a school that fosters leadership, a principal must relinquish authority in order to release the latent talents of teachers.
- ***Entrusting.*** If, when the going gets rough, the principal retracts what he or she has relinquished, it won't be long before a school faculty will secede from the community of leaders, says Barth.
- ***Involving teachers in decisionmaking.*** This means turning over important, not "maintenance" decisionmaking to teachers--before the principal has decided upon a solution.
- ***Assigning responsibilities wisely.*** Rather than overburden a selected few teachers, it would be better to match an important school issue with a teacher who cares about that issue. "Innovative solutions

come more often from teachers who don't know how to handle a problem but desire to learn," says Barth. "The moment of greatest learning for any of us comes when we confront a problem that we desperately want to resolve. Then we recognize our need to seek assistance; we are ready to learn."

- ***Sharing responsibility for failure.*** Rather than ask who was at fault when something goes wrong, it is better to ask, "What happened, what can we learn from it, and how can we do better the next time?" The principal who shares the foxhole with teachers will develop collegiality and higher morale.
- ***Attributing success to the teacher.*** It is equally important that a principal allow successes to reflect upon the teachers involved. Good principals, says Barth, "are more often hero-makers than heroes."
- ***Believing in teachers.*** If principals believe that all teachers can lead, they will seek to use the individual strengths of teachers.
- ***Admitting ignorance.*** Teachers understand that principals don't know how to do everything--but principals do not often admit that. If a principal "invites" leadership on the part of a teacher by saying, "I've got some ideas about this but I don't know exactly how to go about it," the way is open for teachers to work collaboratively with that principal.

Barth notes that many schools and organizations around the country are successful with his idea of a "community of leaders," admitting, however, that the idea "is as perilous as it is promising." But a vision of shared leadership can help teachers and principals "respond less randomly and more coherently and cooperatively to the thousands of situations they face every day in the schools."

New Visions for Training. Even before "restructuring" of schools demanded new skills of teachers and of administrators, efforts were under way to radically change their training and continuing development.

The National Association of Secondary Schools Assessment Center project, for example, has a decade of experience with a model taken from industrial psychology that identifies generic skills needed by principals. Through a variety of activities, the Center evaluates the skills of those participating in the assessment on these dimensions--problem analysis, judgment, organizational ability, decisiveness, leadership, sensitivity, stress tolerance, oral communication, written communication, range of interests, personal motivation, and educational values.

Similarly, AASA's National Executive Development Center began its work by identifying the skills of outstanding school administrators. These include leadership, personnel management, financial and cash flow management, school/community public relations and coalition building, evaluation of teacher performance, sound and cost-effective budgeting, motivational techniques, conflict mediation and coping with controversy, valid and reliable performance measures for instructional outcomes, sound curriculum design and instructional delivery systems, and human relations skills.

> **"Leaders have a significant role in creating the state of mind that is the society. They can serve as symbols of the moral unity of the society. They can express the values that hold the society together. Most important, they can conceive and articuiate goals that lift people out of their petty preoccupations, carry them above the conflicts that tear a society apart and unite them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts."**
>
> **John Gardner**

Both the NASSP and the AASA efforts at improving the skills of administrators include development activities as well as assessments.

Each state also now has a project under the federal government's Leadership in Educational Administration Development (LEAD) project. According to the LEAD coordinator in the U.S. Office of Education, Hunter Moorman, certain themes emerged early from the LEAD projects:

- An emphasis on administrator candidates, especially women and minorities.
- Support and training for administrators new to their jobs, such as peer coaching.
- Improving assessments by building on programs already operating or developing new ones.

- Using the LEAD program to help administrators adjust to new state requirements.
- Using the business community to help with leadership training.

Although the funding situation for the LEAD program is hostage to federal budget making, its proponents are pushing for a three-year extension that will give the LEAD projects time to become established.

Some of the action to improve the training of administrators is occurring within the academic community, itself. The 1987 report, ***Leaders for America's Schools,***[14] prepared by a commission of the University Council for Educational Administration, recommended fundamental changes in the training of school administrators, including more careful screening of candidates, closer ties to schools as laboratories for research, elimination of programs that cannot meet minimum standards as to number of faculty and quality of offerings, and reforms in licensure. Similar recommendations have been made by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

One of the major recommendations of the UCEA report, a National Policy Board for Educational Administration, is under way, mapped by a special commission of administrator groups and the National School Boards Association, funded by the Danforth Foundation. Headquartered at the Curry School of Education at the University of Virginia, it made a dramatic entrance upon the scene with controversial proposals for a sweeping reform of the preparation of school administrators, announced in May 1989.[15]

The proposals would:

- Seek vigorous recruitment strategies to attract the most capable candidates, especially minority enrollments.
- Dramatically raise entrance standards.
- Improve the quality of faculty in administrator preparation programs.
- Make the doctorate in educational administration a prerequisite to national certification and state licensure for full-time administrators.
- Require a full year of academic residency and another of field residency.
- Reform the curriculum.
- Establish long-term relationships between universities and school

districts to create partnership sites for clinical study, field study and applied research.

- Create a national professional standards board to develop and administer a national certification examination.
- Withhold national accreditation from programs that do not meet the standards outlined above.

The Danforth Foundation, additionally, is supporting more innovative training of principals, as well as networks of campuses with departments of educational administration that are working together to improve their administrator training. While reform of training programs may move slowly because of the nature of higher education institutions, several trends seem apparent from the various efforts:

- Training programs will become more highly selective, and, at the same time, address the lack of minority administrators for the schools.
- Programs will become more interdisciplinary, drawing from other training programs for professions and business.
- Courses will become more sequential and programs may move toward greater residential requirements.
- Schools will be used to a greater extent for training and research.
- Certification and licensing standards will stress interdisciplinary skills and competence, building in renewal requirements.

RESTRUCTURING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

Gene Carter, Superintendent,
Norfolk Public Schools

(Carter was selected as the first AASA National Superintendent of the Year in 1988)

Today, there is a widespread call for fundamental change, restructuring, in our schools. The whole notion of schooling is bound up in change--not random or haphazard change, change in the sense of growth toward agreed-upon goals. The change we

should be concerned about now has to do with schooling in an institutional sense but, nevertheless, still change directed toward agreed-upon goals.

We must begin with the assumption that most of us are very much aware of the economic restructuring of our society. What we may not have considered, however, is the range of implications that the structural changes in society shape--the need for change in organizations, leadership, and the ways we carry out the work of schools. In my view, restructuring curriculum and instruction for students will have little meaning if we are not able to provide the organization and the leadership to provide quality programs for all children.

Creating a new climate for change (innovation) is not easy. It begins when management sets clear goals and manages the heart as well as the head of the organization. Obviously, there is no magical plan that would enable a school to attain all the ends simultaneously. School restructuring can take many forms. Some districts have used shared decisionmaking or lead teachers as the entering wedge to school restructuring. Others have used site-based management, the development of a school choice plan, or the introduction of new curricula and instructional techniques to change schooling. Change efforts in the schools will develop, flourish, and become the norm only if certain types of support and changes are made at the district and state levels.

A major function of management must be to provide a structure and environment for individual productivity. New focus of leadership and management that will work in an information- and knowledge-based economic environment is needed. In a sense, the empowerment of people must begin with our values and beliefs about people, organizations, and leadership. We must let go of ideas and behaviors that no longer apply.

Vision at the top is critical in order for people to be visionaries at the school level. School restructuring cannot survive and thrive without strong central office support. Leadership, moral support and the provision of assistance and resources from the central

office are imperative. We have an opportunity to build a school structure that provides support for teaching and learning. In doing so, we can restructure the school itself and the American education enterprise."

EPILOGUE

The ultimate report about restructuring America's schools has only the first few of its chapters written. The rest is outline and conjecture. However, considering the public's interest--of parents, business and civic leaders, policymakers, and educators themselves -- it is guaranteed to sell well.

Therefore, the question of leadership for a new age of schooling in the United States certainly is not a question of "if," but of "how." The sum of this particular report, with guidance more from opinion than experience at this point in the change process, implies that school leadership should be wide open to change and challenge. As in other professions undergoing rapid transformations, school administration opportunities in the future will be defined by one's ability to be visionary--and to have access to quality information that enhances problem-solving abilities. There are no specific how-to's in such a fluid arena, but there are some initial considerations for school leaders:

- ***Become reflective and assured as a professional.*** One cannot lead others without a vision of where you are going. The more informed that vision is, the stronger and more successful the leadership will be. School administrators naturally develop networks because of their educational and professional interests; and for those embarking upon plans to change their schools, the support of networks of others with experience or with similar situations could be crucial. A leader's search for information should be confined to only the best--reputable research, substantive development activities, inquiries that lead to specific resources, rather than the superficial and broadly defined.

- ***Help others who will be central to restructuring plans with access to the same quality resources.*** Bring everyone along together in a shared discourse that allows visions to be collaboratively developed, although the impetus and ideas may come individually.
- ***Build community acceptance of restructured schools,*** and often of the need for additional resources, by including community leadership in the development of a knowledge base and of ideas.
- ***Protect risk-taking.*** Becoming a reflective leader does not mean proceeding so cautiously that creativity is discouraged. Part of the responsibility for encouraging those willing to take leadership roles is developing a consensus within and without the school system on the need for tolerating mistakes and for providing sufficient time for things to happen.
- ***Be realistic,*** not only about the time involved, but also about the investment that must be made in developing leadership abilities and the need to modify, or even to change course, when necessary.
- ***Remember,*** nothing in the current restructuring scene is sacred except a commitment to the full development of people in their roles as students or as professionals dedicated to students.

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Acknowledgments

The American Association of School Administrators and the many individuals involved in the publication of ***Restructuring America's Schools,*** are committed to the best possible education for our nation's students. This book was conceived and produced with the knowledge that restructuring is a vital and dynamic fact in todays schools. Therefore, AASA saw the need for a comprehensive look at restructuring: what it means to various individuals and organizations, what works and what doesn't worldwide, and what innovative ideas are coming around the corner.

AASA would like to thank the nearly 200 administrators and teachers who completed our survey for this publication, as well as the staffs of state departments of education and universities who were willing to give their time for interviews. In addition, special thanks go to Edward Meade, Jr., former education programs officer for the Ford Foundation, for his considerate advice; John Nicholson, president of Berryhill Associates, for his help on interviews; and John Rankin, associate director of the Education Writers Association, for his assistance on survey data preparation.

Restructuring America's Schools was written by Anne C. Lewis, an education policy writer in the Washington D.C. area. The manuscript was edited by Assistant Communications Director Luann Fulbright, who also supervised its production along with Associate Editor Leslie Payne. Design and graphics were provided by Sans Serif Graphics, Ltd. Associate Executive Director Gary Marx, who served as project director, saw the need for a publication addressing the many facets of this important topic.

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LEADERSHIP
FOR LEARNING

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